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TWELVE LECTURES

ON THE

CONNECTION BETWEEN SCIENCE

AND

REVEALED RELIGION.

DELIVERED IN ROME, BY

CARDINAL WISEMAN.

First American Edition.

VOL. II.

علم از بہر دین پروردنست

Science should be dedicated to the service of religion.
GULISTAN, viii.

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LECTURE THE SEVENTH;

ON

EARLY HISTORY.

PART I.

CONNECTION of this subject with the preceding.—INDIANS: Exaggerated ideas regarding their Antiquity.—Their *Astronomy*. Bailly's attempt to prove its extraordinary antiquity. Confutation by Delambre and Montucla. Researches of Davis and Bentley. Opinions of Schaubach, Laplace, and others.—*Chronology*. Researches of Sir W. Jones, Wilfort, and Hamilton. Attempts of Heeren to fix the commencement of Indian History. Discoveries of Colonel Tod.—OTHER ASIATIC NATIONS. Latest researches into the early history of the Armenians, Georgians, and Chinese.

AFTER having thus ascertained, as far as we may, when was first constructed and adorned this theatre, upon which have been acted all the great scenes of human life, it may seem superfluous to interrogate those who have trod its stage, how long it is since they commenced their varied drama of war and peace, of barbarism and civilization, of rude vices and of simple virtues. For, in Nature, whom we have hitherto consulted, there is no pride, no desire, and no power, to represent herself other than in reality she is.

But if we ask the oldest nations when they sprang up, and when they first entered on the career of their social existence, there arise instantly, in the way of a candid reply, a multitude of petty ambitions, jealousies, and prejudices; and there intervenes between us and the truth a mist of ignorance, wilful or traditional, which involves the inquiry both in mystery and perplexity, and leaves us to find our way by the aid of the most uncertain elements, with the constant danger of most serious error.

There have been, moreover, learned and acute investigators, who, having peculiar ends to gain in their researches, have allowed themselves to be borne away by these representations,—have admitted as history what was only mythological fable,—have calculated upon dates which were the purest fiction,—and, not granting to the Jewish books the authority which they allowed to the Indian Vedas, or the Egyptian lists of kings, have most inconsistently condemned our sacred records, because they imagined, at first sight, that they agreed not with those of other nations. Fortunately, however, we have discovered methods which they knew not; we have learned to cross-question nations in their early history; we have accustomed ourselves to pore, with lawyer-like skill, over worn-out documents, till we have made out their value, or detected their flaws: we have lost the relish for sarcastic disquisition, that levity in examination which could give a witticism the

force of an argument, and have learnt to love a sober and solemn mood in every office of science, —to prefer the real to the brilliant,—fact to theory,—and patient, plodding comparison to vague analogies.

The preference to which I have alluded, as given by learned and able men, to any document discovered in distant lands, over those which Christianity received from the Jewish people, is assuredly one of those many facts which, combined, establish a strange phenomenon of the human mind, the extravagant love of the wonderful in all that is out of our reach, and the desire of disparaging that which we possess. I have at home an Arabic manuscript, professing to give, among other very miscellaneous matter, an account of the principal cities of the world ; and, of course, Rome could not be well excluded from the number. But, alas ! not the charmed city of the wildest romance, not the fabulous splendor of the eastern Iram, not the dreamy imaginings of the most visionary Utopian, ever were planned with such a noble contempt of the possibilities of human wealth, as this sober representation of the Eternal City ! It is described as a city of some sixty or eighty miles in length, through which flows the majestic river called the Romulus, over which are several hundred bridges of brass, so constructed that they may be removed upon the approach of an enemy ; the gates of the city are numerous, and all of the same materials ; a minute description is given of the dimen-

sions and riches of many churches, among which, unluckily, St. Peter's is omitted; and the author has been careful to note how many gates of brass, and how many of silver; how many columns of marble, how many of silver, or of gold, each of them contains. Strangely absurd as this may seem, it is but a faint parallel of what well-educated Europeans have indulged in, when first describing the historical and scientific wealth of eastern nations, then comparatively but little known among us. There were to be found astronomical processes of the most refined character, requiring observations at epochs incalculably remote one from the other; there were periods or cycles of time, necessarily framed when the state of the heavens was countless ages younger than at present; there were books manifestly written many thousand years before the West gave any signs of human life; there were monuments obviously erected ages before the desolating flood is said to have swept over the face of the earth; there, in fine, were long lists of kings, and even of dynasties, well attested in the annals of nations, which must reach back far beyond the epoch assigned, in the comparatively modern books of Moses, to the creation of the world!

And now, what has become of all these wonders? Why, you, who have seen, can transmute the Arab's fancies into their vulgar realities, the mighty Romulus into the yellow Tiber, the brazen gates into wooden portals, the gold and silver into stone and marble; and you have perhaps trotted

round the huge city in your morning ride. And so I trust will you be able to treat the no less baseless visions of philosophical romance; after we shall have visited, to-day and at our next meeting, the countries where all those scientific and literary marvels were said to exist, you will, I trust, be convinced, that those are but as other lands, confined like ourselves within reasonable limits of duration; that the stream of their traditions bears down with it its due proportion of rubbish and defilement; that the precious materials, whereof their monuments and temples were said to be composed, are but the ordinary substance of which all things human must consist. But in both cases the truly valuable has been overlooked. The Arab was not refined enough to understand the treasures of art which we here possess, and which are far more valuable than gates of silver, or pillars of gold; and the vain philosophers of the last century were too blind, or rather blinded, to examine the real wealth which the East was opening to their industry, in the confirmation of primeval truths, in the illustration of holier pursuits, and in the field of ethnographical and moral knowledge which it affords.

Opposed, however, to what I have said on the tendency of men to despise what they hold in the hand, and to exaggerate what is far removed, are the very objects of which I am going to treat. For, while among us there seems to be this strange propensity; while any discovery at variance with Scripture is eagerly seized upon by many,—of

which we shall have yet plenty of examples, if the past lectures have not given enough—while there is an unnatural value set upon anything brought to light which seems to clash with some assertion of the sacred text; the nations of the East so jealously cling to their sacred books, and so pertinaciously reject every fact which may prove them wrong; the Chinese, and the Indians, and the ancient Egyptians, have been ever so attached to the unerring accuracy of their respective records, that we must seek some other explanation than a natural cause for the case wherewith ours are so often abandoned. Nay, I believe, that had the book of Moses not been preserved by Christianity, but discovered for the first time among the Jews of China, or by Dr. Buchanan among those of Malabar,* they would have been received as a treasure of historical and philosophical knowledge by those who have, under the present circumstances, slighted and blasphemed them.

It is not my intention, of course, to go over the ground, which has been completely drained of its interest by older writers, such as the antiquity of the Chaldeans or Assyrians, and the objections drawn in former times from the fragments of Berosus or Sanconiathon. They belong to the class of mere dry chronology, without a particle of historical interest,—they have been exhausted by many popular writers,—and they may be said to have

* Where copies of the Pentateuch were really found.

been abandoned by the school which used to give them some value. I will, therefore, at once proceed to a country the early history of which possesses much stronger claims to our attention, and will afford a strong illustration of the principle I have chiefly in view, through this course of lectures.

The peninsula of India should seem to be the field especially delivered by Providence to the cultivation of our countrymen, and ought certainly to possess a peculiar interest for us. Nor could anything have happened more opportunely for the wants of the human mind, than the discovery of its literary wealth. The taste of Europe, which the political and religious convulsions of the sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries had driven to seek delight and food in the recollections of ancient classical lore, had almost begun to pall with the sweet but unvaried repast; the stream of newly-discovered authors, which for a time flowed from the young press, had ceased its refreshing supplies; every manuscript had been collated, every accent adjusted, every debatable letter made the theme of learned essays; we longed, if possible, for something quite original, and able to rouse and stimulate our languishing appetite. Arabia and Persia had been tried in vain. Mohammedanism sat as an incubus on all their religious literature—their exquisite poetry was too sensuous to satisfy the intellectual demands of European refinement, and their history was too limited, too modern, and too

well known from its connections with our own to excite any powerful interest. Whatever our anticipations of India may have been, they have been more than surpassed. We appear, on a sudden, introduced to the very fountains of ancient philosophy, to the laboratories of those various opinions which formed the schools of the West; to the nursery of our race, where the first accents of our language are preserved in their simplest forms; to the very oracle or sanctuary of all ancient heathen worship,—to the innermost chamber of all mystic lore and symbolical religion. Here everything bears the stamp of aboriginal freshness and simplicity; and we feel that whether we examine the philosophical meditations of its sages, or the early and mythological annals of its history, we are perusing the results of native genius, and the uninterpolated records of national traditions.

But we must not allow our feelings to carry us too far, nor allow ourselves to be dazzled by the novelty of the scene, to an exaggeration of its real beauties. As well might the naturalist, upon witnessing the gigantic growth of the African or American forests, compared with the pigmy stature of our trees, calculate that, if the oak has required its hundreds of years to reach its strength, they must have been rooted for thousands in the soil, as the philosopher conclude, that so many ages must have been requisite to give to the systems of science which we there find their consistency and consolidation, anterior to the appearance of philosophy

in the West. There are other elements to be calculated besides time; there is, in the one instance, the succulent vigor of the soil, and the ripening energies of the climate; and, in the other, the complex action of physical and moral influences caused by an early settlement in a congenial country, by the fortunate preservation of earliest recollections, and a peaceful state amid objects which draw the mind to contemplation.

I fear I have allowed my thoughts to ramble from reflection to reflection, without sufficient regard to the more important and substantial entertainment which you require at my hand; and I therefore proceed at once to my task. I have not to consider the Indians to-day in reference to their literature, but only to their history. And this I will divide into two parts. First, I will trace the history of inquiry into the antiquity of their scientific knowledge, particularly their astronomy; for this has been one of the most alarming topics in the hands of men hostile to religion. Then I will trace for you a brief sketch of the researches made into their annals, and the success experienced in unravelling the perplexities of their political history.

The first man of any reputation in science, who gave an unnatural antiquity to the astronomical discoveries of the Hindoos, was the unfortunate Bailly. During his life he possessed, at least among less profound mathematicians, a very brilliant reputation; but he was infected with all the

defects of his time,—a love of bold and startling hypothesis, splendidly supported by ingenious and diversified arguments. "It was not for learned men that he wrote," says Delambre; "he aspired to a more extensive reputation. He yielded to the pleasure of entering into the lists with Voltaire; he revived the old romance of the Atlantis; he had a good many readers, and that ruined him. The success of his first paradox led him to create others. He devised his *extinct nation*, and his *astronomy perfected in mythological times;* he made everything bear upon this favorite idea; and was not very scrupulous in his choice of means to give color to his hypothesis."* In his History of Ancient Astronomy, he started the theory here alluded to. By analyzing the astronomical formulas of the Hindoos, as far as known through the imperfect communications of Le Gentil, he concluded that they must be based upon actual observations, but that the present state and character of the Indians will not allow us to consider them their original discoveries. He consequently treats the actual astronomy of that country as only fragments and wrecks of an earlier and far more perfect science; and adding to these conjectures others of another class, based upon surmises, allegories, and obscure hints, he brings out his celebrated theory, that a nation, which has long disappeared from the world, existed many ages ago, in the North of Asia, from which

* "Astronomie du Moyen Age." *Par.* 1809, p. xxxiv

all the learning of the southern peninsula was derived. The Indians, he says, formed, in his opinion, a fully constituted nation from the year 3553 before Christ; and this is the reduced date of their dynasties. It is astonishing, he adds in another place, to find among the Brahmans astronomical tables which are five or six thousand years old.* I will give you one specimen of his reasoning in favor of the northern origin of astronomy. The Chinese have a temple dedicated, it is said, to the northern stars; and it is called "the palace of the great light." It contains no statue, but only an embroidered drapery, on which is inscribed, "To the spirit of the god Petou." The Petous are, he says, according to Magelhaens, the stars of the north. "But may not this temple be dedicated to the *aurora borealis?* It would appear that the name of 'palace of the great light' would suggest that conjecture. Why should they have made a divinity of the northern stars, rather than of those of any other quarter? They have nothing remarkable, whereas the phenomena of the aurora borealis, those crowns, those rays, those streams of light, appear to have something in them quite divine." This conjecture is then confirmed by another of M. de Mairan, that Olympus was the seat of the Grecian gods, because that mountain was particularly seen surrounded by the northern lights. But then the aurora borealis is not at all remarkable in

* "Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne" *Par.* 1775, pp. 107, 115.

China; for in thirty-two years, Father Parennin never saw anything worthy of the name. "We therefore see," thus he concludes, "in this species of worship, rendered to the northern lights, and to the stars of the north" (here the two objects before exchanged are artfully united), "a very strong trace of the superstition of an earlier period, and of the anterior seat of the Chinese in a more northern climate, where the phenomenon of the aurora borealis, being more extended and more frequent, must have made a more lively impression!"*

Is this science, or is it romance? is it history or vision? Even Voltaire, with all his love for the new and the rash, could not stomach this creation of a new people, and this attribution of the origin of astronomy, which all the world thought must have required bright skies and mild climates, to the country of almost perpetual snows and hazy mountains; and he addressed to Bailly several letters, written with all that levity of tone, and carelessness about the truth or falsehood of the matter, which characterizes all his works. He merely seems anxious not to give up the Brahmans, whom he had taken under his especial protection, or sacrifice his own favorite theories on the historical antiquity of the Indians. "Nothing ever came out to us from Scythia," he writes, "except tigers who have eaten up our lambs. Some of these tigers, it is true, have been a little

* P. 101.

astronomical, when they have gained leisure, after sacking India. But are we to suppose that these tigers came forth from their lairs, with quadrants and astrolabes? . . . Who ever heard of any Greek philosopher going to seek science in the country of Gog and Magog?"* In his answers, Bailly enters fully into the explanation and grounds of his theory. It is, I must own, almost nauseous to read the terms of fulsome compliment in which he addresses the superficial master of infidelity. "The Brahmans," he replies to these observations, "would be indeed proud, if they knew they possessed such an apologist. More enlightened than they can ever have been, you possess the reputation which they enjoyed in antiquity. Men go now to Ferney as they used to Benares; but Pythagoras would have been better instructed by you; for the Tacitus, the Euripides, and the Homer of the age, is by himself worth all that ancient academy."—"If the immortal songs of the Grecian bard no longer existed," he writes in another place, "M. de Voltaire, after having described the combats and triumphs of the good Henry, would have conceived how Homer wrote the Iliad, and deserved his fame."† But, passing over these disgusting flatteries, I need only say that, in this work, Bailly sums up and presents in a more popular form the arguments

* "Lettres sur l'Origine des Sciences." *Lond.* and *Par* 1777, p. 6.

† Pp. 16—207.

produced in his more scientific work in favor of his primeval people, source of all human science.

Still, he was not contented; and he undertook the more formidable task of verifying mathematically the Indian calculations, and reducing to the test of rigid formulas the astronomical processes and results contained in the statements of travellers and missionaries. It would be foreign to my plan, and could hardly be interesting to you, to follow him step by step in this toilsome undertaking. I will content myself, therefore, with giving you a slight idea of his method and results.

Three sets of astronomical tables had been made known in Europe; one of these was manifestly borrowed from another of the number, and therefore Bailly excludes it. The other two profess to have different dates, the one 1491 of our era, the other 3102 before it. Bailly proceeds to establish that it was exceedingly improbable that the Indians borrowed their date from other nations, because in their methods they differ essentially from them. He concludes that both the periods must have been fixed by actual observation; inasmuch as the account given of the heavens at each is accurate. The places of the sun and moon are given, for the early period, with a correctness that could not be obtained by calculating from our best tables; there is mention of a conjunction of all the planets, and the tables of Cassini prove that such a conjunction occurred about that period,

though Venus was not in the number.* All these particulars, which I have very unscientifically stated, are apparently established by rigid calculation through the course of his work.

Such was the specious theory of this unfortunate man. In his earlier work he had imagined the scientific researches of his extinct nation to be antediluvian, and supposed the Indians, Chaldees, and others, to be the races who inherited the broken fragments of early science, after the great catastrophe.† In this, however, no notice is taken of that hypothesis, but the astronomy of India is treated as an indigenous invention; or, at least, Bailly contents himself with attempting to demonstrate that the supposed date of that early observation in India must be correct. It was not, however, long before, among his own scientific countrymen, he found an adversary fully equal to the task of confuting his romantic theory. Delambre, in his *History of Ancient Astronomy*, was necessarily led to treat of the supposed observations of the Hindoos; and, without entering into any very profound mathematical examination of the processes and formulas so extolled by his fellow-academician, laid open, one by one, the inaccuracies committed by him in the statement of the question, and his gratuitous assumption of the data on which he conducted them. He shows that there

* "Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale." *Par* 1787, pp. xx. *seqq.*

† "Histoire de l'Astronomie," p. 89.

is no ground on earth to admit the truth of the supposed observations; but approves of the solutions given by the English writers, of whom I shall presently speak.*

We may, perhaps, allow that the tone in which Delambre conducts his confutation of Bailly is not such as would greatly delight an admirer of his dreams. For throughout there is but little respect shown to the science or to the character of that philosopher; not only the correctness of his mathematical inductions, but the fairness of his statements, is constantly called in question. It was in our country that Bailly found a champion to undertake his defence. Between the epoch at which Bailly wrote, and the time when Delambre confuted him, much important light, as I have hinted, had been thrown on the question; and the publication of a valuable collection of Indian mathematical treatises by Mr. Colebrooke, gave an opportunity to the *Edinburgh Review* to exalt the antiquity of Hindoo science, and censure the conduct of Delambre. The occasion, I think it must be owned, was a strange one; for Colebrooke's work affords strong presumptive grounds for supposing the comparatively modern origin of mathematics in India. For he gives us, in his valuable *Notes and Illustrations to his Preliminary Discourse*, a list furnished by the astronomers of

* "Histoire de l'Astronomie ancienne." *Par.* 1817, pp. 400, *seq.*

Ujjayani to Dr. Hunter, of their most celebrated astronomical writers; and the oldest of these is Varaha-Mihira, whom they place in the third century of the Christian era. But of him there is nothing known; whereas another astronomer of the same name is very celebrated, and him Colebrooke shows to have lived, as is stated in Dr. Hunter's table, about the latter end of the sixth century. He quotes, it is true, more ancient treatises, called the five Siddhantas; but there is time enough for these to have existed and become old before his age, without arriving at any very extraordinary antiquity.* In like manner, Brahmegupta, one of the oldest mathematical writers extant, some of whose treatises Mr. Colebrooke published in this collection, cannot be considered older than the seventh century; nay, this sagacious and critical orientalist, after showing the probabilities in favor of Aryabhatta's being the father and founder of Hindoo algebra, proceeds to establish his antiquity, and concludes that he flourished "as far back as the fifth century of the Christian era, and perhaps in an earlier age." He was thus nearly contemporary with Diophantus; though Mr. Colebrooke thinks he was superior to the Greek mathematician, in having methods of solving complicated equations, which the other did

* "Algebra, with Arithmetic and Mensuration, from the Sanscrit." *Lond.* 1817, pp. xxxiii., xlviii. But see Bentley's "Historical View of the Hindoo Astronomy." *Lond.* 1825 p 167.

not possess.* These statements and acknowledgments of so competent a judge as Colebrooke, could not have been well supposed to form a good foundation for an assertion of the Hindoo claims to great antiquity in astronomical renown. But the reviewer, admitting all these facts, boldly asserts that we must by no means consider Aryabhatta as the inventor of his methods, but admit that many ages must have elapsed between their first invention and his improvements.† Though the writer confesses that Bailly was inaccurate, from want of local knowledge, from too great confidence in his informers, and from the spirit of system which carried him away, he still maintains that not only is the originality of Hindoo science quite vindicated by Mr. Colebrooke's publication, but that all must now confess that science to be only a wreck of what flourished in the Indian peninsula when the Sanscrit was a living language, or perhaps, "some parent language, still more ancient, sent forth those roots which have struck with more or less firmness into the dialects of so many and so remote nations, both of the East and of the West." ‡ A conclusion which would lead us back far beyond all reach of history, and pretty nearly to what Bailly would have desired.

As the name of Delambre was mentioned somewhat invidiously, with a charge of undue severity

* P. x. † "Edin. Rev." vol. xxix. p. 143 ‡ P. 163.

upon the memory of his brother academician, the learned astronomer lost no time in replying to the reasonings, as well as the censure of the reviewer; and an opportunity was afforded him by the publication of his work on the *Astronomy of the Middle Ages*. In his preliminary discourse, he examines in detail the different grounds for admiration proposed by the anonymous critic; and concludes that, although the Indians may have now been shown to have acquired a certain degree of skill in solving algebraical problems more remarkable for their ingenuity than for their utility, nothing has been yet done to prove them possessed of anything approaching to a correct and scientific knowledge of astronomy.*

If I have dwelt at some length upon the opinions of Delambre, it would not be fair to omit the concurrence in the same sentiments of another celebrated historian of mathematical science, who wrote too while his country was still more under the influence of that philosophical school to which Bailly had unfortunately attached himself. I allude to Montucla, who with the utmost impartiality addresses himself to the task of examining the grounds assigned by Bailly for the excessive antiquity of the Hindoo astronomy. He analyzes, for instance, the great period of the Cali-Yuga, consisting of 4,320,000 years, and finds that if divided by

* "Histoire de l'Astronomie du Moyen Age." *Par.* 1819, p. xxxvii.

24,000, it gives as quotient 180; which gives rise to a suspicion that this period is only the half of another composing the product of 24,000 by 360. Now, as the Arabs consider 24,000 years the term in which the fixed stars, by their progressive movement, would make one complete revolution, it would appear that, having borrowed this idea from them, the Indians made their great period equivalent to a year of 360 days, the primitive length of the year, each day of which consists of one complete revolution of the heavens. This he confirms from similar calculations among the Arabs; and this, among others, is a reason for his concluding that, so far from Indian astronomy boasting such wonderful antiquity as his ill-fated countryman had imagined, it was borrowed from the inhabitants of western Asia.*

But it is fair to turn to the labors of our countrymen in this branch of astronomical history. Mr. Davis was the first, as Colebrooke has remarked, to give an accurate account of Hindoo astronomy from native treatises. Montucla had observed that the Surya Siddhanta, an astronomical work supposed to have been inspired, would be a precious acquisition; "but who," he adds, "will ever force these mysterious men to communicate it?"† It is precisely from this very work that Mr. Davis drew his materials; and he states that he found no jeal-

* "Histoire des Mathématiques." *Par.* n. vii. tom. i. p 429.

* P 443.

ousy on the part of the Brahmans in either communicating the book, or assisting to explain it. The object of his researches was merely to discover the processes or formulas by which the Hindoos calculate their eclipses; and thus far he may appear to throw little or no light upon the subject of our inquiry. But still it is manifest, from his preliminary remarks, that he considers the remote periods assumed by the Hindoos as the bases or points of departure for their calculations, to have been assumed arbitrarily by a retrograde computation, and not selected, as Bailly fancied, by actual observation.*

Mr. Bentley, however, must be acknowledged to have most earnestly and most successfully studied this and other important works of Indian astronomy, with a view to determine the true antiquity of the science: and with his researches, which extend over a long period of time, I shall close this portion of my task. His first essay upon this subject appeared in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. It may be divided into two parts. In the first, he examines the astronomical methods of the Indians, and shows how easily a European unacquainted with them might fall into grievous error in assigning their date. He then proceeds to investigate the age of the Surya Siddhanta, to which the Brahmans modestly give an age of sundry millions of years. "The most correct and cer-

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. ii. p. 228, ed. *Calcutta*.

tain mode of investigating the antiquity of Hindoo astronomical works," he writes, "is by comparing the positions and motions of the planets computed from them, with those deduced from accurate European tables. For it must be obvious, that every astronomer, let the principle of his system be what it will, whether real or artificial, must endeavor to give the true position of the planets in his own time; or, at least, as near as he can, or the nature of his system will permit; otherwise his labor will be totally useless. Therefore, having the positions and motions of the sun, moon, and planets, at any proposed instant of time, given by computation from any original Hindoo system; and having also their positions and motions deduced from correct European tables for the same instant; we can from them determine the points of time back, when their respective positions were precisely the same in both."* Mr. Bentley proceeds to apply this simple rule. He takes his data, on the one side, from the Indian treatise, and on the other from Lalande's Tables; and by finding the number of years requisite to give the erroneous results deducible from the former, he discovers different periods of 600, 700, and 800 years, as having elapsed from the time it was composed. But not so content, Mr. Bentley gives strong reasons to conclude that its author was Varaha, whose disciple, Sotanund, is known to have lived about 700 years ago, a

* P. 564.

period corresponding with the mean given by the deductions from the Surya Siddhanta itself.*

The critical periodical, which I before mentioned as having so earnestly defended Bailly's fanciful theories, was thereby only following up the views it had taken in its first number of Mr. Bentley's labors. To the severe and studied attack which it made upon the essay I have quoted, he answered in a strong and clear manner, in the eighth volume of the *Researches*;† but I pass over this paper, because he has since given a more enlarged and corrected, and far more valuable, explanation of his views; and this I proceed to mention. In the very year that Mr. Bentley published his *Historical View of the Hindoo Astronomy*, the learned Ideler complained at Berlin that no one had as yet been found who united together a competent knowledge of the Sanscrit language and of astronomy.‡ In this instance, however, these two acquirements seem to have been combined with that firmness of purpose and eagerness of inquiry which were necessary for directing them in their troublesome undertaking; and probably, the severity wherewith their possessor had been treated for his first attempt, nerved him to the task, and materially forwarded

* P. 573. This, however, has been denied by Mr. Colebrooke, in his "Algebra."

† Pp. 193 *et seqq.*

‡ "Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie." *Berlin*, 1825, vol. i. p. 5.

the researches which they were intended to impede.

In this work, Mr. Bentley, after a preface, in which he confirms his former assertions regarding the Surya Siddhanta by new calculations, treats systematically of the different epochs into which Hindoo astronomy may be divided. He establishes eight distinct ages or periods in its history, each of which he endeavors to define and fix by astronomical data. The first operation in any system of astronomy, must be the division of the heavens; without which all astronomical determinations would be impracticable. The earliest Indian division is into Lunar mansions, formerly 28, and now 27 in number. While history places this operation at a period between 1528 and 1375 B. C., the astronomical data mentioned in conjunction with it exactly coincide. For the place of the equinoctial and solstitial points give the year 1426 B. C.; and the singular mythology of the operation, which states the planets to have been born from different daughters of Daksha, when reduced to the astronomical language of occultations of the moon in the respective lunar mansions, gives precisely the same period, 1425 B. C.* Now, if this calculation is correct, we have undoubtedly a date for the preliminary operation of Hindoo astronomy, quite within the range of probability. The next observation on record, Mr. Bentley places in 1181 before the Christian

* P. 4.

era; when the sun and moon were in conjunction, and the astronomers found that the colures had fallen back 3° 20′ from their position at the former observation. This consists of the giving proper names to the months; the conditions of which decide the period.

The next important era, which is decided by the astronomical data it supposes, is the age of Rama, whose exploits form the noblest theme of Indian poetry. "The Ramayuna," or epic poem which celebrates him, gives a minute description of the heavens at his birth, and upon his reaching his twenty-first year; and the result is, that such a state could only have occurred about 961 years before Christ.* There is, too, I may remark, in his history, a passage minutely corresponding with the battle of the gods and giants in Greek mythology.

I will not follow Mr. Bentley through the later stages of his course; because all that we can possibly desire is gained in the first. It matters little to us, that the Hindoos should place the ages of their astronomers back in absurd antiquity; that Garga and Parasara should be said by them to have lived and written 3,100 years before Christ; so long as it can be proved that the science, in which they were manifestly proficients, did not commence its preliminary observations till many centuries later. But it is just to say, that the Vasishta Siddhanta, and the Surya

* P. 15.

Siddhanta, which the Hindoos used to date at some million or two of years back, have been brought down by his computations to the tenth or eleventh century of the Christian era.

There is one Indian legend of considerable importance, the age of which Mr Bentley endeavors to decide by astronomical computation; that is the story of Krishna, the Indian Apollo. In native legends he is represented as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Divinity; at his birth, choirs of Devatas sung hymns of praise, while shepherds surrounded his cradle; it was necessary to conceal his birth from the tyrant Causa, to whom it had been foretold that the infant should destroy him. The child escaped, with his parents, beyond the coast of Yamouna. For a time he lived in obscurity; but then commenced a public life, distinguished for prowess and beneficence; he slew tyrants and protected the poor; he washed the feet of the Brahmans, and preached the most perfect doctrine; but at length the power of his enemies prevailed, he was nailed according to one account, to a tree by an arrow, and foretold before dying the miseries which would take place in the Cali Yuga, or wicked age of the world, thirty-six years after his death.* Can we be surprised that the enemies of Christianity should have seized

* See this legend in Paulinus, a S. Bartholomæo "Systema Brahmanicum." *Rome*, 1802, pp. 146, *seqq.* Creuzer's "Religions de l'Antiquité," par Guigniaut, tom. i. *Par.* 1825 p. 205.

upon this legend as containing the original of our gospel history? The names Christ and Krishna, perverted by some of them into Kristna, were pronounced identical, and the numerous parallelisms between their histories declared too clearly defined to permit any doubt respecting their being one and the same individual.* The ease with which the first explorers of Indian letters allowed themselves to be borne away by their enthusiasm, towards ascribing extravagant antiquity to everything they found, came in here to aid these bold assertions. For Sir W. Jones, who was considered an infallible authority in all such matters, and whose judgment certainly deserves due consideration, had pronounced it quite certain "that the name of Krishna, and the general outline of his history, were long anterior to the life of our Saviour, and probably to the time of Homer." Hence, acknowledging the impossibility of so many casual coincidences, in the two lives or histories, he conjectures that the points of minute resemblance were engrafted, in later times, from spurious gospels, upon the original legend.† Maurice, in like manner, admits its antiquity, and meets its difficulties in a manner still less qualified to assist an adversary of Christianity by considering it a remnant of an ancient, primeval tradition, concerning the future coming of a re-

* Volney's "Ruins, or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires." *Par.* 1820, p. 267.

† "Asiatic Researches," vol. i. p. 273.

deemer, who was to be truly an Avatar, or incarnation of the Deity.*

Now, it is to the examination of the age when this god-like hero lived, that Mr. Bentley has applied astronomical calculation. For he diligently sought out, in the notices regarding him, some data upon which to base an inquiry into the era of his life; and after finding all these too scanty, though it was stated that the celebrated astronomer Garga assisted at his birth, and described the state of the heavens at that interesting moment, he was fortunate enough to procure the *Janampatra* of Krishna, which contains the position of the planets at the time of his birth. From computation, grounded upon European tables, reduced to the meridian of Ujein, it appears that the heavens can only have been as there described on the 7th of August, A.D. 600.† Mr. Bentley therefore concludes that this legend was an artful imitation of Christianity, framed by the Brahmans for the express purpose of withholding the natives from embracing the new religion, which had begun to penetrate to the uttermost bounds of the East.

It may probably happen that many will not agree with this writer in some of his opinions; and I must say that, without more positive proof, I cannot go to the lengths he does upon many particular points. But still, to his demonstration

* "History of Hindostan." *Lond.* 1824, vol. ii. p. 225.

† P. 111.

of the modern date assignable to Indian observations and Hindoo astronomical works, he certainly has the suffrages of the best modern mathematicians. Not to mention Delambre, who considered his paper on the age of the Surya Siddhanta as quite satisfactory, we have the opinion of Schaubach, who maintains all the knowledge possessed by the Hindoos, in astronomy, to be derived from the Arabs, and, consequently, to belong rather to modern than to ancient science.* Laplace, whose name will surely be respected by every astronomer of modern times, far beyond that of the overrated Bailly, whose friend and warm admirer he was, thus expresses himself upon this matter: "The origin of astronomy in Persia and India is lost, as among all other nations, in the darkness of their ancient history. The Indian tables suppose a very advanced state of astronomy; but there is every reason to believe that they can claim no very high antiquity. Herein I differ, with pain, from an illustrious and unfortunate friend." This expression clearly shows, that it was from no leaning towards our cause that Laplace decided against the claims of Sanscrit astronomy. After these remarks, he proceeds to a detailed examination of the point, which, I am sure, I have quite often enough repeated, whether the observations

* In the Baron de Zach's "Monatliche Correspondenz," Feb. and March, 1813.

placed by the Indian tables as bases for their calculations, 1,491 and 3,102 years before the Christian era, were actually ever made; and concludes that they were not, and that the tables were not grounded upon any true observation, because the conjunctions which they suppose cannot have taken place. "The same results," he concludes, "are obtained from the mean motions assigned by them to the moon, in reference to its perigee, its nodes, and the sun; which, being more accelerated than they are according to Ptolemy, indicate that they are posterior to that astronomer. For we know from the theory of universal gravitation, that these three movements have been accelerated for a great number of years. Thus the results of this theory, so important for lunar astronomy, serve also to elucidate chronology."* To these testimonies we may add that of Dr. Maskelyne, personally communicated to Mr. Bentley,† of Heeren,‡ Cuvier,§ and Klaproth, who thus writes: "Les tables astronomiques des Hindous, auxquelles on avait attribué une antiquité prodigieuse, ont été construites dans le septième siècle de l'ère vulgaire, et ont été postérieurement reportees par des calculs à une époque antérieure."‖

* "Exposition du Systéme du Monde," 6th ed. *Bruxelles*, 1827, p. 427.

† Preface, p. xxv.

‡ "Ideen über die Politik, Handel, und Verkehr der alten Völker," 4th ed. 1 Th. 3 Abtheil. p. 142.

§ Cuvier, "Discours prelim." 8vo. *Par.* 1825, p. 238.

‖ "Mémoires " *Par.* 1824, p. 397.

After these confirmatory authorities, in addition to the opinions of the older French mathematicians before cited, we may reasonably doubt whether any other champion will arise to defend the excessive antiquity of Indian astronomical science. It will be difficult, at any rate, to reinstate its pretensions in such a position as shall threaten a conflict with the Mosaic chronology. There are other branches of Indian learning, which must appear to you deserving of equal investigation, such as the age of the sacred and philosophical writings, to which such absurd antiquity was attributed by some men a few years back; but as it is my intention, in pursuance of my promise, to dedicate a special discourse to Oriental Literature, I shall reserve to it what appears to me most important on this head. I will, therefore, pass from the astronomy to the history of the Indians, and see if it can, any more than the other, pretend to rival in age the records of the Pentateuch.

It was, indeed, only to be expected that the national ambition, which led to extravagance in fixing an epoch for the rise of science, should have suggested a corresponding remoteness of time for the governments under which it flourished. One fiction necessarily supposed the other; and when Oriental nations set about giving a mythological era to their origin and early history, they do not stop at trifles, or allow themselves to be restrained by the European rule of attending to probabilities. A million of years are as soon invented as a thou-

sand; very few kings are required to fill them with their reigns, if you give them a gross of centuries apiece; and your readers will believe it all, if you can only get them over the first step, that of believing the kings to have been descendants of the sun and moon, or some such unearthly progenitors. We cannot indeed help pitying those who have been deceived into the belief of such absurdities; but I think we must also be inclined to extend our compassion to those who first attempted to analyze the mass of fable presented to us by Indian history, and to separate the few grains of truth which lay concealed in this Augean confusion.

Sir W. Jones led the way in this, as in most branches of Indian research. He took, for the groundwork of his inquiries, the genealogical lists of kings, extracted from the Puranas, by the Pundit Rhadacanta; and sat down to the task of unravelling their history, with a determination not to be swayed by any consideration, however sacred, towards an unfair decision. "Attached," he writes, "to no system, and as much disposed to reject the Mosaic history, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it, if it be confirmed by sound reasoning, from indubitable evidence, I proceed to lay before you a concise account of Indian chronology, extracted from Sanscrit books." * He soon, however, discovered that he had to deal with the high-born races before alluded to, which claimed

* "On the Chronology of the Hindoos." — Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 11.

exemption from all the laws which limit the duration of mortal dynasties. Yet, nothing daunted by this appalling discovery, which would have driven a less enthusiastic inquirer to despair, he attempts to account for these absurdities, and to reconcile all contradiction. He draws up tables of kings, and assigns dates to them, according to the most plausible conjectures he can devise. The result of these very unsatisfactory labors you shall hear in his own words. "Thus," he concludes, "have we given a sketch of Indian history, through the longest period fairly assignable to it; and have traced the foundation of the Indian empire above 3,800 years from the present time."* Taking, therefore, even from a most prejudiced investigator, the extent to which the annals of Hindoostan can possibly be stretched, with any regard to plausibility, we have the establishment of a government in that country no earlier than 2,000 years before Christ, the age of Abraham, when the book of Genesis represents Egypt as possessing an established dynasty, and commerce and literature already flourishing in Phenicia.

Sir W. Jones was followed by Mr. Wilfort, who endeavored to reduce to something like order the dynasties of Maghada, given in the Puranas.† Hamilton succeeded him in the same course;‡

* P. 145.

† "On the Kings of the Maghada."—Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. p. 82.

‡ "Genealogies of the Hindoos extracted from their sacred Writings." *Edinb* 1819.

but both these patient investigators found themselves checked at every step, by wilful misrepresentations or blundering contradictions. The first of these writers is an unfortunate example of the extent to which Pundits will carry their impositions, and, consequently, a proof of how far we are to trust them in those passages of their books which would carry us back to unreasonable antiquity. For Mr. Wilfort found that a most confidential man, employed by him, at considerable expense, to assist him in his labors, did not hesitate to erase and alter passages in his most sacred books; and even, when he found that the originals would have to be collated to verify his extracts, went so far as to compose thousands of verses to screen himself from discovery.* Mr. Wilfort found, in reference to our subject, that these holy men of India had no scruple about inventing names, to insert between those of more celebrated heroes, and defended their conduct on the ground that such had ever been the practice of their predecessors. Now, after all due abatements and allowances have been made, we shall find but sorry materials left wherewith to construct any certain or even probable history. For the two authors I have mentioned have only, in the end, produced a series of personages, for whose real existence we have no better authority than poems and mythologies.

"In that case," says a sagacious writer, who,

* "Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. p. 250.

however, is rather inclined to overrate than to depress the antiquity of Hindoo literature, "they are of no more authority than the generations of heroes and kings among the Helleni; and the tables so published hold the same rank in Indian mythology which those of Apollodorus do in the Grecian. We cannot expect to find in them any critical or chronological history; it is one by poets composed, and by poets preserved; and, therefore, in this respect a poetical history, without being on that account entirely a fictitious history."* "The chronology and history of the Hindoos," writes another, "are in general as poetical and ideal as their geography. In this people, the imagination prevails over every other faculty."† In fact, Klaproth places the commencement of true chronological history in India in the twelfth century of our era.‡

Heeren, however, has taken considerable pains to trace the Hindoos back to their earliest institutions, and reconstruct their earliest political state. He enters at length into proofs that the caste of Brahmans are a different nation or tribe from the inhabitants of the peninsula, and follows their march from their supposed mountain-seats in the north, along a line marked by temples in

* "Es ist eine von Dichtern behandelte, und durch Dichter erhaltene (Geschichte): also in diesem Sinne eine Dichter-Geschichte, ohne das sie deshalb eine gänzlich erdichte Geschichte zu seyn braucht."—Heeren, *ubi sup.* p. 242.

† Guigniaut on Creuzer, *ubi. sup.* tom. i. 2de partie, p. 585.

‡ *Ubi sup.* p. 412.

the south. He cites the authority of travellers to prove that they are of a lighter complexion than men of the other castes; an assertion which, you will remember, is at variance with the observations of other travellers, whom I quoted to you, in treating of the varieties in the human species. However, I do not see any strong objection to this hypothesis, which alone seems to account for the absolute sway of the Brahmans over the bulk of the nation.* And, after all, though this supposes a very remote period (for the oldest accounts of India show this system to have been firmly grounded in their times), it does not lead us to any definite result.

The war between the Coros and Pandos, the Greeks and Trojans of Sanscrit poetry, appears to him to afford, in its historical basis, evidence of a very early political organization in the regions of the Ganges. But so far, again, we have only great antiquity—no decisive chronological epoch. And in reference to this event, it is consistent to remark, that it is so essentially connected with the history of Krishna, that if Mr. Bentley's theory regarding this be correct, the other must share its fate, and be reckoned a modern invention.

However, Heeren applies himself patiently to the task of arranging and reconciling the various fragments which remain of the early annals; he endeavors to discover what were the earliest states, and the contemporary dynasties which

* *Ubi sup.* p. 257.

possessed them; but the results at which he arrives, after his long investigation, through which I have no wish to lead you, is such as need not alarm the most timid believer. "From all the foregoing considerations," he writes, "we may conclude the region of the Ganges to have been the seat of considerable kingdoms and flourishing cities, many centuries, probably even 2,000 years, before Christ."* Such, then, are his conclusions. Instead of the six thousand years before Alexander, attributed by some writers, on the credit of Arrian, or the millions deduced from the fables of the Brahmans, we have, as Jones and others had conjectured, the age of Abraham, as the earliest historical epoch of an organized community in India.

After having thus, and at some length, carried you through the history of Indian chronology during the last forty years, it would be both a grievous mission, and a violence to my feelings, to pass over without due notice the labors of one whom I have the honor to count among my audience, and whose presence it might be thought should have made me shrink from speaking on researches which he may be said to have completed. I am sure that no one can peruse the two splendid volumes on the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,† without feeling that their

* P. 272.

† By Lieut.-Col. James Tod. *Lond.* vol. i. 1829, vol. ii. 1832. Since these lectures were delivered, death has robbed our literature of this learned, diligent, and amiable man.

author has been able to bring to researches apparently exhausted, a stock at once of new materials and of superior sagacity, by which he has thrown considerable light, not only upon the subject which occupies us now, but likewise on those which have preceded it. And if we descend to the later periods of history, he has certainly been sufficiently fortunate to find a vast unoccupied tract to explore, in the annals of those states which he has been the first to describe. He has thus been able to combine, what few discoverers before him have had the good fortune to unite, new events with a new field, the varied drama of a history hardly known, with a theatre decked out in the most gorgeous scenery which nature can give, and with the most sumptuous monuments that eastern art could add. Whether we consider the geographical, the historical, or the artistic additions to our knowledge of India communicated in this work, or the interest of the personal narrative it contains, we may safely, I think, rank it among the most valuable, as well as among the most beautiful works upon eastern literature.

Colonel Tod has certainly gone further than any of his predecessors in correcting and arranging the lists of Indian dynasties. He shows that there is a general conformity between the genealogies produced by Jones, Bentley, and Wilfort, and such as he himself had collected from different sources; and as there is sufficient discrepancy

among them to warrant their being derived from various originals, he concludes, not improbably, that they have some foundation of truth. The two principal races, as I before observed, are those of the Sun and Moon; and it is remarkable, that the number of princes in the two lines, through the entire descent, preserves a tolerable proportion. Now assuming Boodha to be, what seems not unlikely, the regenerator of mankind after the Deluge, as he is the beginning of the lunar line of princes, we should have, according to the genealogical tables, "fifty-five princes from Boodha to Crishna and Youdishtra" (I quote Colonel Tod's own words); "and, admitting an average of twenty years for each reign, a period of eleven hundred years; which being added to a like period calculated from thence to Vicramaditya, who reigned 56 before Christ, I venture to place the establishment in India proper of these two grand races, distinctively called those of Soorya and Chandra, at about 2,256 years before the Christian era; at which period, though somewhat later, the Egyptian, Chinese, and Assyrian monarchies are generally stated to have been established, and about a century and a half after that great event, the Flood." * Thus far, certainly, there is nothing to excite a moment's uneasiness; and if we take the chronology of the Septuagint, which many moderns are disposed to follow, we have even an ampler period between that scourge and the epoch

* Vol. i. p. 37.

here allotted to the establishment of these royal houses.

What may serve to confirm this calculation, is the uniformity of other results obtained by a similar process.

But the most original, and doubtless most valuable of Colonel Tod's discoveries in the Hindoo annals, consist in the historical connections which he seems clearly to have established between the early Indians and those tribes towards the west, which, we before saw, exhibited a common origin, through the evidences of comparative philology. He shows, in the first instance, that the Hindoos themselves establish the birth-place of their nation towards the west, and probably in the region of the Caucasus. But at different periods those tribes which remained in that portion of Asia and had received the name of Scythians, seem to have become the invaders of the new settlements of their brethren, and to have considerably modified Indian manners and religion, at the same time that they gave rise to some of the most distinguished lines of kings. About 600 years before Christ, we have notice of an irruption of those tribes into India, which is nearly contemporary with a similar invasion, from the same quarter, towards Asia Minor, the north of Europe, and eastward as far as Bactria, where they overthrew the Greek dominion. The ancient Getæ are to be discovered in the Jits of modern India, where they are spread from the mountains of Joud to

the shores of the Mekran, and yet follow the same nomadic form of life which they did in their more northern latitudes. The Asi of ancient history are probably the Aswa race of India.* After establishing these resemblances in name, the learned writer proceeds to trace such points of similarity between the inhabitants of the north and the present occupiers of the Rajasthan, in dress, in theogony, in warlike customs, in religious forms and civil observances, as cannot leave any reasonable doubt regarding the affinity of the two races.† Whether the hypothesis be well sustained, that these resemblances arise from a subsequent invasion, or whether they are remains of a primary affinity, may be, I think, a matter of free discussion. And whether some of the etymolgies can be maintained, I have reason to doubt; for I fear in some places the resemblance of names is not sufficiently confirmed by historical data to warrant our conclusion of identity of objects. But all these are considerations of secondary importance; quite enough has been done by my learned friend to satisfy us of the earlier connection between the tribes that yet occupy Scandinavia, and those which still hold dominion in India. And this will afford grounds for several reflections.

For you will perceive how, on several occasions, besides my principal object of tracing the bearings of scientific researches upon sacred truths, I have endeavored to call your attention to the

* P. 63. † Pp. 65–80.

light which one pursuit casts upon another. And, so here, I wish you to note how our former inquiries seem to receive striking illustration from these totally different researches, yet so as to confirm still further the evidence they gave in favor of the inspired narrative. Thus we found that every new step in the comparative study of languages brought us nearer to a positive demonstration, that mankind were originally one family; and the investigation of the early history of nations assisted by the observation of their manners, religions, and habits, brings us to precisely the same conclusion. Nor is this confined merely to the members of the same ethnographic family, such as the Germans and Indians; but Colonel Tod has certainly pointed out such curious coincidences between the origin assigned to their respective nations by the Monguls and Chinese, and the early mythological annals of the Indians, as seem to place us, in the historical investigation of their common origin, much in the same position as the discoveries of Lepsius and others do in respect of the ethnographical inquiry, that is, in the possession of strong probability that families of men, now completely distinguished by different languages, may be shown to have been originally one. In each science, perhaps only one step has been made, but that is so successful as to augur still fuller and more satisfactory discoveries. And if the common origin of these nations can be historically established, we have a strong proof that

some great and unknown cause must have acted to give each of them a language so essentially peculiar and distinct.

Again, by these researches we have it still further proved, that climate or some other cause may change the outward habit and physiognomy of a people. For, taking the learned writer's hypothesis to its full extent, and supposing the race now occupying the Rajasthan to be a northern tribe, who invaded it from the north only 600 years before Christ, indeed to be a portion of that nation which, about the same period, took possession of Jutland, we have it shown how two colonies of the same tribe may, in the course of some centuries, have acquired the most different physical characteristics; the one receiving the fair and xanthous traits of the Dane,—the other, the dusky hue of the Indian. But, if we do not go so far, and only suppose the resemblances of names and manners to be traces of a primeval affinity, we may still draw a similar conclusion, varying only in a comparative vagueness of date, that the Getæ of Scythia formed the fairest of the Caucasian race, while those of Hindoostan rank among the darkest of the Mongul. This reflection, too, will go far to overthrow Heeren's hypothesis of the existence of two different races in the Indian peninsula, discernible at this day by variety of color, and constituting the Brahman and the inferior castes.

The complete resemblance between the mythological systems of India, Greece, and Scandinavia,

obvious not merely in the characters and attributes of their respective deities, but even in their names and in the minutest circumstances of their legends, is a discovery which belongs to the earlier history of these studies. Sir W. Jones, Wilfort, and others in the last generation, had abundantly established this point. The last-mentioned writer also renewed with elaborate care the old hypothesis, that a close affinity existed between the ancient worshippers of the Nile and the Ganges; but, unfortunately, the circumstances I have already detailed regarding him, have cast a damp upon the interest which his researches must have otherwise excited. Colonel Tod has, however, added many interesting points of resemblance to those which we already possessed, between the mythologies of the two countries. I will content myself with alluding to his description of the festival of Gourè, as kept with great solemnity in Mewar, and to the remarks which he has added as a commentary upon it.* Here, then, again, we have an accession of strength to those reasons which would lead us to suspect affinity between two nations belonging to different families, according to their philological distribution.

This growing accumulation of proof in favor of the common origin of nations, drawn from researches which have no natural direction to its discovery, must greatly strengthen our confidence in the usefulness of every study, when reduced to

* P. 570

proper harmony with its sister sciences, and made to advance with them at an even pace.

After having thus seen the chronology of India brought down to reasonable limits, and new analogies discovered, in its early history, with the origin of other nations, there can be little to detain us amid the inhabitants of Asia. No other people of that continent has afforded scope for such assiduous investigation, partly because none has materials of equal interest to stimulate the industry of scholars, partly because our connection with that country has given us greater opportunities of cultivating the language in which its records are written. But that I may not appear uncourteous to other nations, and that no suspicion may arise that their annals are not so easily dealt with as those which I have discussed, I will briefly give you the opinion of one or two writers who have, in our time, taken pains to unravel their native chronologies.

Klaproth, in an essay several times reprinted by him, in various forms and languages, has attempted to fix the dates for the commencement of certain and of doubtful history, in different Asiatic nations, following chiefly their own historians.* He soon disposes of all Mohammedan kingdoms,

* "Examen des Historiens Asiatiques," first published in the "Journal Asiatique," Sep. and Nov., 1823; then reprinted in his "Mémoires relatifs a l'Asie,' vol. i. p. 389, which I shall refer to in the text. The essay re-appeared, under the title of "Würdigung der asiatischen Geschichtschreiber," in his "Asia Polyglotta," pp. 1–18.

which have no early history except what they borrow from Moses, or engraft upon a Jewish stock Even the Persian annals can hardly go back beyond the accession of the Sassanides to the throne in 227. Cyrus appears in them as an heroic or mythological person; before him we have the dynasty of the Pishdadians, a region of mere fable;* and it is a dispute among the learned, whether Gustasp, the contemporary of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, is the Hystaspes of history, or a sovereign coeval with Ninus,† or, in fine, Median Cyaxares. ‡

In much the same condition are those Christian nations whose history, comparatively modern, has fallen into the hands of the clergy, the natural annalists of a less refined people. These would, of course, reject those crude legendary traditions which form the remote history of pagan nations, whom they would not wish any longer to resemble, by descent, from unclean and impious deities; and they would seek to substitute such early records as the inspired writings afforded them, in

* Hyde, "De Religione veterum Persarum," p. 312. Von Hammer, "Heidelberg Jahrbücher," 1823, p. 86. Guigniaut, *ubi sup.* p. 688.

† Rhode, "Die heilige Sage . . . der alten Baktrer, Meder und Perser." *Frankf.* 1820, p. 152, *seqq.* Volney, "Recherches nouvelles sur l'Histoire ancienne." *Par.* 1822, p. 283.

‡ The opinion preferred by Tychsen, "Comment. Soc. Goetting." vol. xi. p. 112, and Heeren, "Ideen," i. Th. i. Abth. p 440.

their room. This we find to be actually the case with the Georgians and Armenians. The first portion of their annals is drawn from the Bible: they endeavor to find their forefathers in that storehouse of primeval history—the book of Genesis; they next fill up a long space with accounts gleaned from foreign historians, and at last, attach to them their own meagre narratives, too modern to trouble the most delicate sensitiveness, on the score of revelation. The earliest period to which anything among them pretending to the name of history can reach, is, according to Klaproth, two or three centuries before Christ.*

But we still have China to dispose of; and surely it, at least, must be excepted from the remarks which I have made; for it possesses a native literature of great antiquity, and pretends to be the first or primary nation of the globe. We all know, too, that it carries back its annals to a very formidable age; and it might be expected that as much attention should be devoted to its claims as we have bestowed on its rivals in India. I will, however, content myself with laying before you, in a few words, the conclusions to which Klaproth came, from the study of its authors, to which he was principally devoted; and I can assure you, that you will have the decision of a judge by no means disposed to

* P. 412.

second our desires, by depreciating the glories of the Chinese.

According to him, therefore, the earliest historian of China was its celebrated philosopher and moralist, Confucius. He is said to have drawn up the annals of his country, known under the name of Chu-King, from the days of Yao, till his own times. Confucius is supposed to have lived about four or five hundred years before Christ, and the era of Yao is placed at 2,557 years before the same era. Thus, then, we have upwards of 2,000 years between the first historian and the earliest events which he records. But this antiquity, however remote, did not satisfy the pride of the Chinese; and later historians have prefixed other reigns to that of Yao, which stretched back to the venerable antiquity of three million two hundred and seventy-six thousand years before Christ.

That you may estimate still more accurately the authenticity of the Chinese annals, I must not omit to state, that two hundred years after the death of Confucius, the Emperor Chi-Hoangti, of the dynasty of Tsin, proscribed the works of the philosopher, and ordered all the copies of them to be destroyed. The Chu-King, however, was recovered, in the following dynasty of Han, from the dictation of an old man, who had retained it by memory. Such, then, is the origin of historical science in China; and in spite of all due veneration for the great moralist of the East, and

of respect for his assertion, that he only wrought on materials already existing, Klaproth does not hesitate to deny the existence of historical certainty in the Celestial empire, earlier than 782 years before Christ, pretty nearly the era of the foundation of Rome, when Hebrew literature was already on the decline.*

The Japanese, in historical knowledge, are but the copiers of the Chinese. They, too, pretend to their millions of years before the Christian era. But the first portion of their annals is purely mythological; the second presents us with the Chinese dynasties as reigning in Japan; and it is not till the accession of the Daïri to the throne, only 660 years before Christ, that any dependence can be placed upon their records.†

In glancing back over the chronology of the different nations of which I have treated, you cannot help being struck with the circumstance, that every attempt has failed to establish, for any of them, a system of chronology derogatory to the authority of the Mosaic records. In most of them, even when we have granted a real existence to the most doubtful portions of their history, we are not led back to an epoch anterior to what Scripture

* P. 406. Abel-Rémusat is disposed to allow Chinese history to reach back to the year 2200 before Christ, and plausible tradition to go as far back as 2637. Even this antiquity presents nothing formidable to a Christian's convictions.—"Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," tom. i. p. 61. *Par.* 1829.

† P. 408.

assigns for the existence of powerful empires in eastern Africa, and enterprising states on the western coast of Asia.

The learned Windischmann, whom I feel a pride in calling my friend, admits the entire period of Chinese history allotted by Klaproth to the uncertain times, and shows its agreement with another form of computation, drawn from the cycles of years adapted by the Chinese; and the result is a sufficiently accurate accordance between the date assigned to the foundation of the Celestial empire by Fo-hi, or Fu-chi, whom some have even supposed to be Noah, the time of the Deluge, according to the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the beginning of the Indian Cali-Yuga, or iron age.* The philosophical Schlegel not only concurs in the same view, but approves also of Abel-Rémusat's idea, that the written Chinese character must be 4,000 years old; "this," he observes, "would bring it back within three or four generations from the Deluge, according to the vulgar era,—an estimate which certainly is not exaggerated."†

Even in India, you have seen authors, like Colonel Tod, assuming, almost without limitation, the chronological tables of the country, and yet coming pretty exactly to the same period for the commencement of its history. Surely a conver-

* "Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte," 1 Th. 1 Abtheil. *Bonn*, 1827, p 18.

† "Philosophy of History," vol. i. p. 106, Robertson's transl.

gence like this must have force of proof with the most obstinate mind, and produce conviction that some great and insuperable barrier must have interposed between nations and any earlier definite traditions, at the same time that it allowed some faint ray's of recollection to pass, of the original state and happier constitution of the human race. A sudden catastrophe, whereby mankind were, in great part, though not totally, extinguished, presents the most natural solution of all difficulties, and the concurrent testimony of physical phenomena, with the silent acknowledgment of the vainest nations, must assuredly shield, from every attack, this record of our inspired volume.

There is yet another nation, whose history is perhaps more interesting than any which we have discussed; but it will afford us sufficient matter for another meeting.

LECTURE THE EIGHTH;

ON

EARLY HISTORY.

PART II.

EGYPTIANS.—1. *Historical Monuments.* Mystery of their Monuments.—Excessive Antiquity ascribed to the Nation.—The Rosetta Stone.—First Researches into the Egyptian Characters on it, by Akerblad and De Sacy, Young and Champollion. Hieroglyphic Alphabet.—Opposition raised. — Applications of the Chronology discovered through it to the illustration of Scripture by Coquerel, Greppo, and Bovet.—Inedited Letter by Champollion on this Subject.—Rosellini; his Series of Egyptian Kings; their coincidence with those of Scripture.—Vindication and illustration of a Prophecy in Ezekiel.—2. *Astronomical Monuments.* Zodiacs of Dendera and Esneh.—Absurd Antiquity ascribed to them.—Discoveries of Mr. Bankes, MM. Champollion and Letronne. Proved to be purely Astrological.—Commentary on some Observations in the British Critic.

FROM the soil of Asia, over which late we strayed, fruitful in every science, and varied by the display of every degree in cultivation, from the restless nomade, or the untamed mountaineer, to

the luxurious Persian, or the polished Ionian, we have now to turn to a country whereon nature seemeth to have set the seal of desolation physical and moral. One redeeming spot alone of Africa has been the seat of an indigenous civilization, a native dynasty and a domestic class of monuments; and the valley of the Nile appears rightly placed in such a geographical situation, as almost detaches its inhabitants from the degraded tenants of the wilderness, and links them with the more favored regions of the East.

At every period, this extraordinary nation has interested the attention of the learned. Its origin seemed to have been a problem to itself, and consequently to all others. The mysterious allegories of its worship, the dark sublimity of its morality, and, above all, the impenetrable enigma of its written monuments, threw a mythological veil over its history. The learned approached it, as if in the most obvious facts they had to decipher a hieroglyphic legend; and we were inclined to look upon the Egyptians, as a people, which, even in its more modern periods, retained the shadowy tints and ill-defined traits of remote antiquity, and which might consequently boast an existence far beyond the reach of calculation. We were almost tempted to believe them when they told us that their first monarchs were the gods of the rest of the world.

When, after so many ages of darkness and uncertainty, we see the lost history of this people

revive, and take its stand beside that of other ancient empires; when we read the inscriptions of its kings, recording their mighty exploits and regal qualities, and gaze upon their monuments, with the full understanding of the events which they commemorate, the impression is scarcely less striking to an enlightened mind, than what the traveller would feel, if, when silently pacing the catacombs at Thebes, he should see those corpses, which the embalmer's skill has for so many ages rescued from decay, on a sudden burst their cerements, and start resuscitated from their niches.

While such a darkness overhung the history of Egypt, it is no wonder that the adversaries of religion should have retreated within it, as a stronghold, and eagerly attacked her from behind its shelter. They collected together the scattered fragments of its annals, just as Isis did the torn limbs of Osiris, and tried to reconstruct, by their re-union, a favorite idol, a chronology of countless ages, totally incompatible with that of Moses. Volney had no hesitation in placing the formation of sacerdotal colleges in Egypt 13,300 years before Christ, and calling that the second period of its history! * Even the third period, in which he supposes the temple of Esneh to have been built, goes as far back as 4,600 years before that era; somewhere about what we reckon the epoch of creation! But the mysterious monuments of Egypt formed the most useful intrenchments for these assailants.

* "Recherches," vol. ii. p. 440.

They called upon those huge and half-buried colossal images, and those now subterraneous temples, to bear witness to the antiquity and early civilization of the nation which erected them; they appealed to their astronomical remains, to attest the skill, matured by ages of observation, of those who projected them. More than all, they saw in those hieroglyphic legends the venerable dates of sovereigns, deified long before the modern days of Moses or Abraham; they pointed in triumph to the mysterious characters which an unseen hand had traced on those primeval walls, and boasted that only a Daniel was wanted that could decipher them, to show that the evidences of Christianity had been weighed and found wanting; and its kingdom divided between the infidel and the libertine! Vain boast! The temples of Egypt have at length answered their appeal, in language more intelligible than they could possibly have anticipated; for a Daniel has been found in judicious and persevering study. After the succession had been so long interrupted, Young and Champollion have put on the linen robe of the hierophant; and the monuments of the Nile, unlike the fearful image of Sais, have allowed themselves to be unveiled by their hands, without any but the most wholesome and consoling results having followed from their labor.

The history of the discovery to which I allude is not perhaps difficult to unravel; but it is by no means easy to allot to each claimant his share of

merit. There certainly were approximating steps in the researches of sagacious antiquaries, before the announcement of a complete system of hieroglyphic literature flashed upon Europe. It is more than probable that Champollion would not so easily have attained it, had not the way been pioneered before him; but still, the step which he at once made, from the conjectural course and detached applications which others had pursued before him, to a general system, at once applicable to any case,—and yet more, the public interest which his publication drew upon the study, making it pass from the hands of a few profound scholars, into the general literature of the day—are grounds which he might well advance for being considered the discoverer, or restorer, of hieroglyphic learning.

In the last century, Warburton, and after him, Zoega, had conjectured that the hieroglyphics in reality represented letters, but neither could pretend to have verified the opinion by any practical observation. In fact, it was not even known with accuracy what the language of ancient Egypt was Jablonsky had made it extremely probable that it was the same as the Coptic, or modern ecclesiastical language of the same country; for he had sufficiently explained from this the Egyptian names and words which occur in the Old Testa nent.* But, if any doubt existed regarding this mat-

* "Opuscula quibus lingua et antiquitas Ægyptiorum, difficilia LL. SS. loca illustrantur." *Lugd. Bat.* 1804.

ter, it was completely removed by the learned Quatremère, in his interesting work on the language and literature of Egypt,* wherein the identity or close affinity, of the ancient and modern languages was amply demonstrated. One great obstacle, therefore, to the deciphering of ancient Egyptian inscriptions was removed, supposing them to be composed of alphabetical characters. It is just, also, to observe, that before the discovery which dimmed the glory he would otherwise have received from his further researches, Champollion was one of the first and most assiduous to gather information from Coptic literature, upon the geography and history of ancient Egypt.†

When the language is known, or may be probably conjectured, in which inscriptions are written, there are certain rules whereby they may be reduced to intelligible characters. The great difficulty is to know where to begin, for the first step must be conjectural. Thus it was, for instance, with the arrow, or nail, or wedge-headed inscriptions of Persepolis, which had perplexed the learned world since they were first made known by Niebuhr, till they were almost simultaneously deciphered by Saint-Martin, in Paris, and Grotefend, at Vienna. The process followed by the former was exceedingly simple and obvious. The language, he supposed, would be Persian, and the

* "Recherches sur la Langue et la Littérature de l'Egypte. *Par.* 1808.

† "L'Egypte sous les Pharaons." *Par.* 1814.

ancient dialect is sufficiently known in the modern and in the Zend, to give him some lever wherewith to commence his work. He selected an inscription, from its form and position manifestly historical; and assuming that in any such, if in honor of a Persian monarch, the title of "King of Kings" would be found, he turned his attention to two words or groups of letters placed together, exactly similar, except that the termination of one was sufficiently varied to give ground for supposing that it was the plural of the other. Having by this means acquired the power of the letters which composed these two words, he applied them to a proper name, which nearly resembled them, and thus was in possession of the name of Xerxes, which does, in reality, bear an affinity in sound to the old Persian title of King.* The groundwork was thus laid, and by applying the letters gradually discovered to other words wherein they occurred in conjunction with others unknown, these in their turn yielded to his investigation, and placed him in possession of his alphabet.

The process pursued in the examination and discovery of hieroglyphics was precisely similar. The difficulty, as I before hinted, was where to begin; but fortunately a plausible conjecture, which, as in the other instance, proved well grounded, gave a firm foundation to the entire system of discovery. You cannot have failed to observe, how, on all Egyptian monuments, certain

* "Journal Asiatique," tom. ii. 1833, pp. 75, 79.

groups of hieroglyphics are inclosed in an oblong frame, or parallelogram, with rounded corners. It had long been conjectured, with great appearance of plausibility, that these distinguished hieroglyphics expressed proper names; and nothing was wanting to begin the work upon them; for proper names could never be well expressed in any language by emblems, but must be somehow composed of *phonetic*, or sound-expressing characters. This is the case even in Chinese; where the language is ideographic, or representative of objects or ideas, yet is reduced to the necessity of adopting a different system for words which represent neither, but only an artificial combination of sounds, denoting a person or place. If, therefore, it could be once possible to know a single name contained in one of these squares, the decomposition of it into its primary elements, or letters, would give the nucleus of an alphabet, which might be easily extended.

All this reasoning is extremely simple, and though, in detailing it, I am rather giving you a retrospective view of acts and their consequences, than a line of argument, distinctly and systematically planned beforehand, it may serve to show you by what consistent and well-warranted steps the entire investigation proceeded. These were not, indeed, the work of one man, nor of one country; and so far from any rivalry or jealousy being felt by learned men on different sides of the Channel, about the apparent appropriation of each other's

literary discoveries, I think it should be matter of congratulation to observe how two nations, after having fought bravely for the time-worn spoils of Egypt, have been led to sit down together in peace and harmony around them, for their illustration; and if the mutilated fragment of the Rosetta stone has been to us a military trophy, it has been to our neighbors the monument of a more glorious conquest over the darkest mysteries of a hidden art.

This celebrated stone is, at present, an irregular block of basalt, smooth on one side, and may be considered the foundation-stone of this important study; as all discoveries in it owe their origin and strength to the first elements of knowledge which it supplied. This almost shapeless mass, which a few years ago would have been thrown aside into the lumber-room of the Museum, is now one of the most valuable monuments of our national collection, and was originally discovered by the French expedition in digging the foundation of a fort near Rosetta. It contains three inscriptions, one in Greek, another in hieroglyphics, and a third in an intermediate alphabet, which in the Greek legend is called *enchorial*.* It was evident from this, that each inscription contained nearly the same sense, and that each was probably a version of the others. Here there was some hope of

* This custom of polyglott inscriptions, intended only for one country, which might be frequented by strangers, illustrates and explains the reasons of Pilate's commanding a trilingual inscription to be placed over our Saviour's cross.

a discovery in the unknown, from its being joined, as in equation, with the known. The Greek inscription contains proper names, so must the other two; but in the first instance, probably from considering the task as hopeless, the hieroglyphic inscription hardly obtained attention from the learned, who rather applied themselves to the study of the *enchorial*, or, as it has since been called, *demotic* legend. Perhaps I should observe that the language so called was the vernacular dialect of Egypt, the Coptic, and that the alphabet used in it is a linear one, formed, however, undoubtedly, through several gradations from the hieroglyphic.

The illustrious Silvestre de Sacy was the first to make any interesting discovery on this subject. He observed that the letters or symbols used to express the proper names, in the *demotic* character, were grouped together, so as to have the appearance of being letters; and by comparing different words, wherein the same sounds occurred, he found them represented by the same figure; and thus he extracted from them the rudiments of a demotic alphabet, which was further illustrated and extended by Akerblad at Rome, and Dr. Young in England. All these researches and partial discoveries occurred as early as 1814, and by no means close the history of the demotic literature of Egypt. Dr. Young, who truly deserves the title of the father of this portion of Egyptian studies, pushed them forward to the almost complete formation of the current alphabet, and was aided in his re-

searches by some most extraordinary combinations of circumstances.

Thus, for instance, a copy of a demotic manuscript, brought to Europe by Casati, was placed in his hands by M. Champollion at Paris, in 1822, because it seemed to bear considerable resemblance to the preamble of the Rosetta stone. Champollion had already deciphered the names of the witnesses who signed it, for it seemed to be a deed. It so happened that after Dr. Young's return to England, Mr. Grey placed at his disposal a Greek papyrus, which he had purchased at Thebes, together with others in Egyptian characters. The very same day he proceeded to explore this treasure, and to use the Doctor's own expression, he could scarcely believe that he was awake and in his sober senses when he discovered it to be nothing less than a translation of the very manuscript which he had procured at Paris; and it actually bore the title of "a copy of an Egyptian writing." "I could not therefore, but conclude," he says, "that a most extraordinary chance had brought into my possession a document which was not very likely, in the first place, even to have existed, still less to have been preserved uninjured for my information, through a period of near two thousand years; but that this very extraordinary translation should have been brought safely to Europe, to England, and to us, at the very moment that it was most desirable to me to possess it, as the illustration of an original which

I was then studying, but without any other reasonable hope of being fully able to comprehend it; this combination would, in other times, have been considered as affording ample evidence of my being an Egyptian sorcerer."*

But I have pursued further than was necessary the history of this secondary branch of Egyptian discovery; which is interesting from the influence it had on the deciphering of hieroglyphical legends. Here also Dr. Young decidedly took the first step, however imperfect it may be considered. He conjectured that the frames which occurred in the inscription of Rosetta included the name of Ptolemy, and that another, in which was inscribed a group, with what he considered justly the sign of a feminine, contained that of Berenice. This conjecture was correct; but it must be allowed that the principle on which it was maintained could hardly be called a preliminary step to the discoveries of Champollion. For, as he observes, Dr. Young considered each hieroglyphic to be syllabic, and to represent a conso-

* "An Account of some recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature:" *Lond.* 1823, p. 58. A writer on this subject increases the strange combination recorded in the text still further, by asserting that both the documents were copies of a bilingual inscription in Drovetti's collection, which Dr. Young, with an illiberality most unusual in Italy, had not been allowed to copy. See the Marquis Spineto's "Lectures on the Elements of Hierogly phics:" *Lond.* 1829 p. 68. But of this still more extraordinary coincidence not a hint is given by Dr. Young.

nant with its vowel, a system which would have fallen to the ground on the very next attempt at verification. For he read the two names, PTOLEMEAS and BIRENIKEN, and not, as was subsequently proved correct, PTOLMES and BRNEKS.* Dr. Young seems, therefore, entitled to little more than the praise of having practically attempted the discovery of a hieroglyphical alphabet; an attempt which perhaps spurred Champollion on to his more successful efforts.

If the merit of the very first step has been thus contested, the second has been no less an object of rival claims. This was taken as follows:—In the island of Philæ, situated high up the Nile, an obelisk was found, and thence brought to England, on which were two cartouches, or frames containing hieroglyphics, joined together. One of these presented invariably the group already explained in the Rosetta stone by the name of Ptolemy. The other evidently contained a name composed, in part, of the same letters, and followed by the sign of the feminine gender. This obelisk had been originally placed on a base bearing a Greek inscription, which contained a petition of the priests of Isis to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, and spoke of a monument to be raised to both.† There was, consequently, every

* "Précis du Système hiéroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens." *Par.* 1824, p. 31.

† This inscription was illustrated by Letronne in a learned essay upon it, entitled "Eclaircissements sur une Inscrip-

reason to suppose that the obelisk bore these two names conjointly; and observation proved that the three letters common to both, P, T, and L, were represented in the female name by the same signs as occurred for them in the king's. Thus, there could be no reasonable doubt as to this second name, which put the learned investigators in possession of the other letters which enter into its composition. All this Champollion claimed as exclusively his own.* Mr. Bankes, however, maintains that he had previously deciphered the name of Cleopatra, and endeavors to show that Champollion must have been aware of the discovery. For he says, that he had been led to the observation, that when two figures occur together on any temple, they are so repeated throughout. Now, over the portico at Diospolis Parva, is a Greek inscription to Cleopatra and Ptolemy, the only instance of the female preceding; and so, through the temple, she is always placed before the effigy of the king. Over the latter is the same hieroglyphical group as Dr. Young had assigned to the name from the Rosetta stone, and therefore Mr. Bankes plausibly conjectured that the legend over the other expressed the name of the queen, Cleopatra. He then ascertained that both on the obelisk and on the temple at Philæ, which were determined, by Greek inscriptions, to

tion Grecque," etc. *Par.* 1822. The inscription had been copied by the diligent and accurate Cailliaud.

* "Lettre á M. Dacier." *Par.* 1822, p. 6.

be dedicated to the same two sovereigns, similar hieroglyphic groups were found. This led him to the certain conclusion, that as the one designated Ptolemy, so the other must contain the name of his consort. As these circumstances were marked by him in pencil on the very engraving of his obelisk which he presented to the Institute, as they alone could have suggested a clue to Champollion's conjectures, and as he referred to this very print, Mr. Bankes and his friends conclude that this important step in hieroglyphic investigation should be attributed to him.*

When these first and more laborious measures had been once taken, the work was comparatively easy, and Champollion, who at first imagined that his system could only apply to the reading of Greek or Latin names hieroglyphically expressed soon found that the older names yielded to the key; and that the successive dynasties of Pharaohs and of Persian monarchs who had ruled in Egypt had recorded their names also, with their titles and their exploits, in the same character.† It was after his researches had reached this point that they could be said to possess a real value for history, and aid us in unravelling the complicated difficulties of the early Egyptian annals. But, before proceeding to trace the history of their results, I must pause to explain the system which they introduced.

* Salt, "Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's phonetic system of Hieroglyhics." *Lond* 1825, p. 7, note.

† "Précis du Système," etc. p. 2.

Many scattered passages exist in ancient writers regarding the hieroglyphical writings of the Egyptians, but there was one which seemed to treat the subject with peculiar detail. It lay treasured up in that vast repertory of philosophical learning, the Stromata of Clement of Alexandria; but so encased in impenetrable difficulties, that it may rather be said to have been explained by these modern discoveries than to have led the way towards them. It has, however, rendered them most essential service by strongly corroborating what must be considered the essential foundation of their results, the position that alphabetical letters were used by the Egyptians. When this passage was examined, after Champollion's discovery, it was found to establish this point, which had not been suspected by older investigators, and moreover to explain the various mixture of alphabetical and symbolical writing used in Egypt, in a manner exactly corresponding to what monuments exhibit. The result of this passage as translated, and commented on by Letronne, is, that the Egyptians used three different sorts of writing: the *epistolographic*, or current hand; the *hieratic*, or the character used by the priests; and the *hieroglyphic*, or monumental character. Of the two former we have sufficient examples; the first being the *demotic* or *enchorial*, of which I have already spoken; the second a species of reduced hieroglyphical character, in which a rude outline represents the figures, and which is found on manuscripts

which accompany mummies. The third, which is the most important, is composed, according to Clement, first of alphabetical words, and secondly, of symbolical expressions, which again are threefold, being either representations of objects, or metaphorical ideas drawn from them, as when courage is represented by a lion, or else merely enigmatical or arbitrary signs.* Now observation has fully confirmed all these particulars; for even on the Rosetta stone it was noticed, that when some object was mentioned in the Greek, the hieroglyphics presented a picture of it, as a statue, a temple, or a man. On other occasions objects are represented by emblems which must be considered completely arbitrary, as Osiris by a throne and eye, and a son by a bird most resembling a goose.

Suffice it to say, that new discoveries have gradually enlarged, and perhaps almost completed, the Egyptian alphabet, till we are in possession of a key to read all proper names, and even, though not with equal certainty, other hieroglyphical texts. To proper names the application is so simple that you may be said to possess a means of verifying the system perfectly within reach. For you have only to walk to the Capitol, or the Vatican, with Champollion's alphabet, and try your skill upon

* "Précis," p. 330. See also the passage in the Marquis de Fortia d'Urban's Essay, "Sur les trois Sistèmes (*sic*) d'Ecriture des Egiptiens" (*sic*): *Par.* 1833, p. 10. The passage of Clement occurs in "Stromata," lib. v. § 9, p 245, ed. Potter.

the proper names in any of the Egyptian inscriptions.

The fate of this brilliant discovery was the same as we saw allotted to Geology and to other sciences. Scarcely was it announced to Europe than timid minds took the alarm, and reprobated it as tending to lead men to dangerous investigations. It was feared, apparently, that the early Egyptian history, thus brought to light, would be employed as that of the Chaldeans and Assyrians had been in the last century, for the purpose of impugning the Mosaic annals. Rosellini, who was the first to make the new discovery known in Italy, as he has been the means of bringing it to its perfection, justly observed, that such an outcry has been raised against every important discovery. Those who raise it, he adds, do but little justice to the truth by being so timid on its account. "This truth is founded on eternal bases, neither can the envy of man disprove it, nor can ages deface it. And if men eminent for their piety and learning, admit the new system, what has revelation to fear from it?" * In fact, the holy Pontiff who then set in the chair of St. Peter, expressed to Champollion his confidence that his discovery would render essential service to religion.† In spite of this high sanction, the opposition has since continued, and, I regret to say,

* In his Italian abridgment of "Champollion's Letters to the Duke de Blacas."

† "Bulletin Universel," 7e sect. tom. iv. p. 6. *Par.* 1825.

with a degree of personal feeling and a severe animosity, which seem hardly worthy of a just mind employed on literary pursuits.*

Perhaps the best-conducted attack on the system, because, while free from the feelings which I have just blamed, it is united to the desire of substituting something better in its place, is that lately made by the Abbé Count de Robiano, who ingeniously exposes the weak parts of the hieroglyphical system, especially through the demotic character. He institutes a very patient and successful analysis of the demotic text on the Rosetta stone, as compared with the Greek, and concludes, with great apparent reason, first, that the one is not a verbal or very close version of the other, and secondly, that nothing has been done, or well can be hoped, towards proving the identity of the Egyptian phrases thus discovered, with corresponding Coptic words.† The Abbé is himself of opinion, that the language of Egypt is of Semetic origin, and, on this hypothesis, he attempts to explain one or

* I will not mention the various essays by Riccardi; but the learned Professor Lanci has been particularly zealous in his resistance. "Svanirà," he writes, "il timore che il nuovo geroglifico sistema possa mai adombrare in alcuno parte, quella storia che sola merita la universale venerazione." "Illustrazione di un Kilanoglifo," in his "Osservazioni sul Basso Rilievo Fenico-Egizio." *Rome*, 1825, p. 47.—See Champollion's answer, in the "Memorie Romane di Antichità." 182 , Append. p. 10.

† "Etudes sur l'Ecriture, les Hiéroglyphes, et la Langue de l'Egypte." *Paris*, 1834, 4to. with atlas of plates, pp. 16-24, etc.

two inscriptions by the Hebrew language.* This attempt, though ingenious and learned, does not seem to me successful. However, I do not think it necessary to follow the arguments of this learned ecclesiastic; because it does not strike me that any theory which he has advanced at all affects the only part of the system interesting to our present inquiry—its power of deciphering proper names.

One of the first applications made by M. Champollion of his discovery, was an attempt to restore the series of Egyptian kings. The table of Abydos† had given him a list of pronomens, and the examination of monuments exhibited the names of the kings who bore them. These corresponded pretty accurately with the eighteenth dynasty, contained in the list of kings quoted from the Egyptian priest Manetho, by Eusebius, Syncellus, and Africanus; and by combining the two documents together, he endeavored to trace the ancient history of Egypt. As the Museum of Turin had supplied him with the greater part of his monuments, he communicated his results in letters upon that magnificent collection, addressed to his great Mecænas, the Duke of Blacas.‡ His relative, M. Champollion-Figeac, previously known for his learned work on the Lagides, added as an appendix to each of these letters, a chronological dis-

* P. 43. † "Précis du Système." p. 241.

‡ "Lettres á M. le Duc de Blacas, relatives au Musée Royal Egyptien de Turin, Première Lettre." *Paris*, 1824, 2de, 1826.

quisition, having for its object to reconcile together the discrepancies in the quotations from Manetho given by ancient writers.

It was natural to expect that a comparison between the chronology thus established and that of Scripture, would soon be instituted, and in this instance the task was undertaken by the friends, not as heretofore by the enemies, of revelation. That malignant spirit, which at the last century's close had so often induced able and learned men to direct the whole force of their genius, and many years of deep research, to the overturning of sacred history, had now passed away, or at least altered its form of attack.

The first who appeared in the field was M. Charles Coquerel, a Protestant clergyman at Amsterdam, who, in a pamphlet of a few pages, in 1825, compared the two chronologies, and pointed out the advantages which one derived from the other.*

I believe I had the satisfaction of being the second in the field. In making out his Egyptian chronology, Champollion-Figeac found it necessary, on one occasion, to depart from his usual guides, and adopt the term of years attributed to Horus by only one document, the Armenian translation of Eusebius's chronicle. I was fortunate enough to discover a Syriac fragment in the margin of

* "Lettre à M. Charles Coquerel sur le Système Hiéroglyphique de M. Champollion considéré dans ses rapports avec l'Ecriture Sainte." Par A. L. Coquerel. *Amst.* 1825.

a Vatican MS. which coincided exactly with this view, and in publishing it, I took occasion to sketch out a comparison between the sacred and the Egyptian chronologies.* I was not, however, able to see Coquerel's pamphlet till several years later.

In 1829, a learned and diligent investigation of this subject was published by M. Gretto, vicar-general of the diocese of Belley, entitled, *Essai sur le Système hiéroglyphique de M. Champollion le Jeune, et sur les avantages qu'il offre à la critique sacrée.* After a clear and popular exposition of Champollion's system, and a few remarks on some philological connections which it seems to have with early Hebrew literature, the author proceeds to a minute analysis of the biblical and Egyptian chronology, endeavoring to discover in the latter each of the Pharaohs mentioned in Scripture.

The same year, another work upon the same subject appeared in France, entitled, *Des Dynasties Egyptiennes*, by M. Bovet, formerly Archbishop of Toulouse. The parallel into which he enters of the two chronologies is much more minute than Greppo's, but on some points, as in the attempt to find the Hyk-Shos, or shepherd kings in the Jews, he does not seem to me so judicious. He appears to have imbibed much of the opinion introduced before the Revolution, by Boulanger and Guerin de Rocher, that a great

* "Horæ Syriacæ," tom. i. *Rome*, 1828, particula iv. p. 263.

part of all ancient annals only contains the history of the Jewish people. All these authors have undertaken the same task of demonstrating what beautiful confirmation sacred history and chronology have received from the latest discoveries in hieroglyphical and Egyptian learning.

But, in the meantime, great and important advances have been made in the history of the Egyptian dynasties, by persons laboring in that country. Messrs. Burton and Wilkinson, the latter of whom only returned within a few months, remained several years in Egypt, copying, printign and illustrating its ancient monuments. Burton's *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* was lithographed at Cairo; Wilkinson's *Materia Hieroglyphica, containing the Egyptian Pantheon, and the succession of the Pharaohs*, was published at Malta in 1828; and by reason of their appearing in such remote places, I believe both works have been comparatively little known. Burton's book is valuable for our studies merely from the accuracy of its drawings, especially of the table of Abydos. Wilkinson's contains many interesting discoveries applicable to the illustration of Scripture, and I shall refer to it more than once.

Every preceding work, however, has been eclipsed by the splendid and accurate publication now in the press at Pisa, under the direction of Professor Rosellini. He was the companion of Champollion in the literary expedition sent, at joint expense, by the French and Tuscan govern-

ments. Champollion's death threw the entire task of publication upon Rosellini, who is acquitting himself of it in a manner that leaves nothing to regret. The monuments of the kings are already published, and two volumes of text contain their illustration from historians and other monuments.

Before showing you, by examples, the advantage derived by sacred chronology, and the authenticity of Holy Writ, from this modern study, I must lay before you a highly interesting document connected with our inquiry. The chronological part of the letters to the Duc de Blacas was entirely executed by Champollion-Figeac, as I before observed; but the author of the great discovery, though well known to be perfectly sound in his principles, never published anything tending to prove the conformity of his chronology with that of Scripture. But I have the pleasure of laying before you an original letter from him in my possession, wherein he not only indignantly repels the imputation that his studies tend even slightly to impugn Scripture history, but endeavors to show how exactly the two histories give and obtain mutual support. This interesting document I will read you in the original. It is dated Paris, May 23, 1827.

"J'aurai l'honneur de vous adresser sous peu de jours une brochure, contenant le résumé de mes découvertes historiques et chronologiques. C'est l'indication sommaire des dates certaines, que portent tous les monuments existants en Egypte, et

sur lesquels doit désormais se fonder la véritable chronologie Egyptienne.

"MM. De San Quintino et Lanci trouveront là une réponse péremptoire à leurs calomnies, puisque j'y démontre qu'aucun monument Egyptien n'est réellement antérieur à l'an 2,200 avant notre ère. C'est certainement une très haute antiquité, mais elle n'offre rein de contraire aux traditions sacrées ; et j'ose dire même qu'elle les confirme sur tous les points : c'est en effet en adoptant la chronologie et la succession des rois données par les monuments Egyptiens, que l'histoire Egyptienne concorde admirablement avec les livres saints. Ainsi par exemple ; Abraham arriva en Egypte vers 1900,—c'est-à-dire, sous les *Rois Pasteurs*. Des rois de race Egyptienne n'auraient point permis à un étranger d'entrer dans leur pays, —c'est également sous un roi pasteur que Joseph est ministre en Egypte, et y établit ses frères,—ce qui n'eût pu avoir lieu sous des rois de race Egyptienne. Le chef de la dynastie des Diospolitians, dite la XVIIIe, est le *rex novus qui ignorabat Joseph* de l'Ecriture sainte, lequel étant de race Egyptienne, ne devait point connaitre Joseph, ministre des rois usurpateurs ; c'est celui qui réduit les Hébreux en esclavage. La captivité dura autant que la XVIIIe dynastie : et ce fut sous Ramsès V, dit Amenophis, au commencement du XVe siècle, que Moyse délivra les Hébreux. Ceci se passait dans l'adolescence de Sesostris, qui succéda immédiatement à son père, et fit ses conquêtes en

Asie pendant que Moyse et Israel erraient pendant quarante ans dans le désert. *C'est pour cela que les livres saints ne doivent point parler de ce grand conquérant.* Tous lés autres rois d'Egypte nommés dans la Bible, se retrouvent sur les monuments Egyptiens, dans le même ordre de succession, et aux époques précises, où les livres saints les placent. J'ajouterai même que la Bible en écrit mieux les véritables noms, que ne l'ont fait les historiens Grecs. Je serais curieux de savoir ce qu'auront à répondre ceux qui ont malicieusement avancé que les études Egyptiennes tendent à altérer la croyance dans les documents historiques fournis par les livres de Moyse. L'application de ma découverte vient, au contraire, invinciblement à leur appui.

"Je compose dans ce moment-ci le texte explicatif des *Obélisques de Rome*, que Sa Sainteté a daigné faire graver à ses frais. C'est un vrai service qu'Elle rend à la science, et je serais heureux que vous voulussiez bien mettre à ses pieds l'hommage de ma reconnaissance profonde."

But it is high time to lay before you the results of these combined labors: and always anxious to select them from the latest and best writers, I will run through the connections between sacred and Egyptian history as given in the different parts of Rosellini's work, to show you what new lights and striking confirmation the former has received from these researches, and how groundless were the alarms of their early antagonists. In the first place I must observe that

Rosellini takes the Scripture chronology as a necessary basis to all his calculations so far that he is willing to reject every part of the early history of Egypt which cannot enter within the limits prescribed by Genesis.*

The first point in Scripture on which the labors of Rosellini throw a new light, is the origin and signification of the title of Pharaoh; though on this point he may be said to have received a hint from our learned countrymen, Wilkinson and Major Felix. By several analogies between the Hebrew and Egyptian letters, he shows the title to be identical with that of Phra, or Phre, the sun, which is prefixed to the names of the kings upon their monuments.† Coming down to a later period, we have an extraordinary coincidence between the facts related in the history of Joseph, and the state of Egypt at the period when he and his family entered it. We are told in the book of Genesis that Joseph, upon presenting his father and brethren to Pharaoh, was careful to tell him that they were shepherds, and that their trade had been to feed cattle, and that they had brought their flocks and herds with them.‡ But in his instructions to them there seems to be an extraordinary contradiction:—"When Pharaoh shall call on you and say, 'What is your occupation?' ye shall say, 'Thy servants' trade hath

* "I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia," vol. i. p. 111.

† P. 117.

‡ Gen. xlvi. 33, 34; xlvii. 1.

been about cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers;' that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen, for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."* Now why make it such a point to tell Pharaoh that his family were all shepherds, because all shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians? This contradiction is removed by the circumstance that when Joseph was in Egypt, the greater part of its kingdom was under the dominion of the Hyk-Shos, or Shepherd Kings—a foreign race, probably of Scythian origin, who seized upon the kingdom. Thus we have it, at once, explained how strangers, of whom the Egyptians were so jealous, should be admitted into power; how the king should be even glad of new settlers, occupying considerable tracts of his territory; and how the circumstance of their being shepherds, though odious to the conquered people, would endear them to a sovereign whose family followed the same occupation. These Hyk-Shos are supposed by Champollion to be represented by the figures painted on the soles of Egyptian slippers, in token of contempt.† By this state of Egypt we can also more easily explain the measures pursued by Joseph during the famine, to bring all the land and persons of the Egyptians into the feudal dependence upon their sovereign.‡ And before leaving this period,

* *Ib.* xlvi. 34, cf. xlvii. 6, 11.

† Champollion, Lettre i. pp. 57, 58.

‡ Rosellini, *ib.* p. 180.

I may obseve that the name given to Joseph of 'Saviour of the world," has been well explained by Rosellini from the Egyptian language.

After the death of Joseph, the Scripture tells us that a king arose who knew not Joseph. This strong expression could hardly be applied to any lineal successor of a monarch who had received such signal benefits from him. It would lead us rather to suppose that a new dynasty, hostile to the preceding, had obtained possession of the throne. "The Scripture," says James of Edessa, "does not mean one particular Pharaoh, when it says a new king, but all the dynasty of that generation."*

Now, this is exactly the case. For, a few years later, the Hyk-Shos, or Shepherd Kings, who correspond to the 17th Egyptian dynasty, were expelled from Egypt by Amosis, called on monuments Amenophtiph, the founder of the 18th or Diospolitan dynasty. He would naturally refuse to recognize the services of Joseph, and would consider all his family as necessarily his enemies; and thus, too, we understand his fears lest they should join the enemies of Egypt, if any war fell out with them.† For the Hyk-Shos, after their expulsion, continued long to harass the Egyptians, by attempts to recover their lost dominion.‡ Oppression was, of course, the means

* Cod. Vat. Syr. 104, fol. 44.

† Exod. i. 10. Also Maretho, ap. "Joseph. cont. Appion." lib. i.

‡ Rosell. p. 291.

employed to weaken first, and then extinguish, the Hebrew population. The children of Israel were employed in building up the cities of Egypt. It has been observed by Champollion, that many of the edifices erected by the 18th dynasty are upon the ruins of older buildings, which had been manifestly destroyed.* This circumstance, with the absence of older monuments in the parts of Egypt occupied by the Hyk-Shos, confirms the testimony of historians, that these usurpers destroyed the monuments of native princes; and thus was an opportunity given to the restorers of a native sovereignty to employ those whom they considered their enemies' allies, in repairing their injuries. To this period belong the magnificent edifices of Karnak, Luxor, and Medinet-Abu. At the same time we have the express testimony of Diodorus Siculus, that it was the boast of the Egyptian kings, that no Egyptian had put his hand to the work, but that foreigners had been compelled to do it.†

It was under a king of this dynasty, according to Rosellini, of Ramses, that the children of Israel went out from Egypt.‡ The Scripture nar

* Champollion, 2de Lett. pp. 7, 10, 17.

† 14 tom. ii. p. 445, ed. Havercamp.

‡ Lib. i. p. 66, ed. Wesseling. I omit noticing the opinion formerly held by Josephus, and others (*ubi sup.*), repeated by many modern writers, as Marsham (*Canon Ægypt. Lips.* 1676, pp. 90, 106) and Rosenmüller (Scholia in Vet. Test. Pa i. vol. ii. p. 8, ed. tert.), and upheld even since the discovery of the hieroglyphical alphabet by a few, as Bovet and Wi

rative describes this event as connected with the destruction of a Pharaoh, and so the chronological calculation, adopted by Rosellini, would make it coincide with the last year of that monarch's reign.*

At this point we are met with a serious difficulty. Ancient historians speak of Sesostris as of a mighty conqueror, who, issuing from Egypt, and passing along the coast of Palestine, subjected innumerable nations to his sceptre. The Scripture never once alludes to this great invasion, which must have passed over the country inhabited by the Israelites. And this silence has been charged against sacred history as involving a serious omission, ruinous to its authenticity. For a long time it was supposed that the Sethos Ægyptus of Manetho was identical with the Sesostris of Herodotus. Even Champollion, from a want of sufficient monuments, had fallen into an error on this point, and

kinson (*Materia Hieroglyphica, Malta,* 1828, part ii. p. 80), that the shepherd kings were no other than the children of Israel. This opinion appears now quite untenable, and not likely to find many supporters. The Hyk-Shos, as represented on monuments, have the features, color, and other distinctives of the Scythian tribes.

* As the Scripture speaks, with the exception of one poetical passage, of the destruction of Pharaoh's host, rather than of the monarch's, some writers. as Wilkinson (p. 4, Remarks, at the end of *Materia Hieroglyph.*) and Greppo, to whom I cannot now refer, maintain that we need not necessarily suppose the death of a king to coincide with the exit from Egypt. In Rosellini's scheme this departure from the received interpretation is not wanted.

subsequently changed his opinion. Rosellini has taken great pains to prove that the two were distinct, and by this discovery entirely removes all difficulty. For he shows that the great conqueror, Ramses Sethos Ægyptus, a totally different person from Ramses Sesostris, or the Sesostris of Herodotus and Diodorus, was the sovereign who conducted that mighty expedition, and founded the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty. As the Israelites had left Egypt shortly before the conclusion of the eighteenth, it follows that the exploits of this conqueror, and his passage through Palestine, happened exactly during their forty years' wandering through the wilderness, and could have no influence on the state of that people, and consequently needed not to be recorded in their national annals.*

Connected with this application is a curious and interesting monument, which has for some time formed the topic of discussion among our Roman antiquaries, and deserves a passing notice. Herodotus mentions that the great conqueror Sesostris marked the route which he took by a series of monuments, some of which he himself saw in Palestine, while others existed in Ionia.† Maundrell was the first to notice "some strange figures of men, carved in the natural rock, in mezzo rilievo, and in bigness equal to life," on the mountain which overhangs the ford across the river Lycus, or the Nahr-el-Kelb, not far from Beirut.

* Rosell, p. 305. † Lib. ii. c. 105.

Champollion, in his *Précis*, noticed this monument as Egyptian, and as appertaining to Ramses or Sesostris. It appears that his information came from a sketch made of it by Mr. Bankes; but an earlier one, by Mr. Wyse, had led Sir W. Gell to the same discovery of the hero whom it represents. Mr. Levinge, at Sir William's request, examined the monument, and pronounced that the hieroglyphical legend was quite defaced.* Mr. Lajard published a further notice, from a sketch by MM. Guys, but turned his attention chiefly to the Persian monuments which are on the same rock. Later he collected all the information he could from M. Callier, who had not, however, any drawings to illustrate his description.† Mr. Bonomi at length fully investigated this interesting matter, and his observations, with the drawings that accompany them, both published by Mr. Landseer, leave little more to be desired.

It appears, then, that on the side of the road, which passes along the side of a mountain skirted by the Lycus, are ten ancient monuments. Two of these are comparitively of small interest, being a Latin and an Arabic inscription regarding some repairs done to the road. Of the others Mr. Bonomi speaks as follows: "The most ancient, but unfortunately the most corroded of the antiquities, are three Egyptian tablets. On these may be

* "Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica," Gennaro, 1834, No I. *b*, p. 30; No. VI. Luglio, p. 155.

† *Ibid.* and "Bulletino," No. III. *a*, Marzo, 1825, p. 23.

traced, in more p aces than one, the name, expressed in hieroglyphics, of *Ramses the Second;* to the period of whose reign any connoisseur, in Egyptian art would have attributed them, even if the evidence of the name had been wanting, from the beautiful proportions of the tablets, and their curvetto mouldings."* I will content myself with mentioning, that beside this is a Persian *rilievo,* representing a king, with astronomical emblems, and covered with an arrowheaded inscription. Of this precious monument a cast was made, with great difficulty, by Mr. Bonomi.† Mr. Landseer supposes it to represent Salmanasor, or some other early Assyrian invader.‡ The chevalier Bunsen, without having inspected the cast or drawing, conjectures, with great appearance of reason, that its hero is Cambyses.§

But to return to our Egyptians:—Champollion, and after him Wilkinson, considered the Sesostris of history to be identical with Ramses II., to whom Bonomi attributes the hieroglyphical legend on the Syriac monument;‖ but, probably, he added the number to his name only on account of that received idea. Champollion changed his opinion,

* "Landseer's Sabean Researches continued." *Lond.* 1835, p. 5. See the drawing prefixed to his essay.

† The original cast is at present in the possession of my friend W. Scoles, Esq. ‡ *Ib.* p. 14.

§ "Bulletino," No. III. *a,* 1835, p. 21.

‖ "Lettres écrites d'Egypte et de Nubie en 1828 et 1829." *Par.* 1833, pp. 362, 438. Wilkinson's "Topography of Thebes," *Lond.,* 1835, p. 51; also "Materia Hieroglyph."

I believe, before his death, and was followed, as you have seen, by Rosellini. But M. Bunsen, who has long been occupying himself with an attempt to unravel the complications of Egyptian chronology, has observed, that Ramses III. is undoubtedly the Sesostris of the Greeks; and that there is a mistake of three or four centuries in the date assigned by Champollion to the commencement of his reign.*

Proceeding downwards in order of time, Rosellini, with all other chronologists, places the fifth year of Rehoboam, when Shishak overran the kingdom of Judah, and conquered Jerusalem, in the year 971 B. C.† Now, in Egyptian monuments, we find that Sheshonk began his reign with the twenty first dynasty precisely at the same period.‡

Rosellini has published many monuments of Shishak, one of which particularly affords the strongest confirmation of sacred by profane history hitherto anywhere discovered. But this morning I am treating only of pure chronology, and must, therefore, reserve this interesting monument for our next meeting, when we shall discuss archæology.

The Zarach of the Second Book of Chronicles (xiv. 9-15), has been supposed by Greppo and oth-

* "Bulletino," *ib.* p. 23.

† 3 or 1 Kings xiv. 25.

‡ Rosell. p. 83. See also Champollion, 2de Lett. pp. 120, 164. Also his letter to Mr. G. A. Brown, in "Les Principaux Monumens Egyptiens du Musée Britannique, par le T. H. Charles York et M. le Col. M. Leake." *Lond.* 1827, p. 23.

ers to be the Osorchon of monuments. Rosellini, however, rejects this opinion, though, I confess, I do not think his reasons very satisfactory; they consist in the slight difference of the name and in his being called an Ethiopian, a circumstance which rather confirms the coincidence, for the dynasty to which he belonged was the Bubastian, considered by Champollion Ethiopian.*

Rosellini, however, has added new monuments to those already furnished by Champollion, as commemorating two other kings mentioned later in sacred history:—Sua, the Sevechus of the Greeks, and the Shabak of monuments, commemorated in the palaces of Luxor and Karnak, and by a statue in the Villa Albani; and Teraha, commemorated at Medinet-Abu, under the name of Tahrak.†

To conclude these chronological details, one of the most striking confirmations of Scriptural accuracy yet remains. In Ezekiel xxix. 30-32, and Jerem. xliv. 30, we have a donation made by God of Pharaoh and his land to Nabuchodonosor; and "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." Yet we find mention made of Amasis by Herodotus and Diodorus as king of Egypt after that period.

How are these two facts to be reconciled? By his monuments, first published by Mr. Wilkinson. Upon them Amasis never receives the Egyptian

* *Ubi sup.* p. 122.

† Pp. 107, 109. Wilkinson, pp. 93, 99.

titles of royalty, but, instead of a pronomen, has the Semitic title of *Melek*, showing that he reigned on behalf of a foreign lord.* Two circumstances put this, I may say, beyond a doubt. First; Diodorus tells us that Amasis was of low birth; consequently he did not *inherit* the kingdom. Secondly; a son of Amasis seems to have governed Egypt under Darius, for he bears the same title. Now, certainly under the Persian conquest, there was no native king, for monuments bear the names of the Persian monarchs. The title Melek will thus be proved to denote vice-regal authority; which again is still farther confirmed by a monument published by Rosellini, who does not seem to have observed Wilkinson's remark. This is an inscription at Kosseir, belonging to the times of the Persian domination, recording "the Melek of Upper and Lower Egypt."† Thus is a serious difficulty removed; Amasis was not a king, but only a viceroy.

But it is time to turn to another application of Egyptian researches,—to the illustration of its astronomical representations. The attention to Egyptian monuments and literature in modern times, has been indeed fertile in objections to sacred history, which, like every other study, it has overthrown in its advance. The controversy upon the zodiacs of Dendera, the ancient Tentyris, and Esneh, or Latopolis, is a remarkable proof of this assertion.

* "Materia Hierogl." pp. 100, 101. † P. 243.

The expedition into Egypt under Napoleon, which shed as much lustre on the literary ardor of France as it cast shadow upon her martial prowess, first made us acquainted with these curi ous monuments. At Dêndera were found two; one was an oblong painting, formed by two parallel but separate bands, enclosed within two monstrous female figures. Upon these bands, in an inner subdivision, were disposed the zodiacal signs, with numerous mythological representations; on the outside were a series of boats, representing the decans of each sign. This zodiac was painted in the portico of a temple, where, like all the others, it occupied the ceiling. The second zodiac, or rather planisphere, is circular, and has been transported to France from an upper chamber of the same temple by MM. Saulnier and Lelorrain. Esneh contributed also two zodiacs, one from the greater, the second from the smaller of its temples. These two, with the rectangular zodiac of Dendera, can alone claim particular attention; the circular planisphere must follow the fate of the zodiac painted in the same temple.

No sooner were representations of these monuments published, than Europe, and particularly France, teemed with memoirs and dissertations discussing their antiquity. It was in general taken for granted that they represented the state of the heavens at the period when they were projected, and when the edifices which they adorned were erected. Some discovered in them the point in

which the solstitial colures cut the ecliptic at that time, and with Burckhardt, attributed to the great zodiac of Esneh the frightful antiquity of 7,000, to that of Dendera of 4,000 years; while Dupuis, upon the same premises, stinted the latter to 3,562.* Others assumed that they represented the state of the heavens at the commencement of a Sothic period; and, like Sir W. Drummond, assigned to that of Dendera 1,322,† to that of the great temple of Esneh 2,800 years before our era.‡ A third class, in fine, saw in them the heliacal rising of Sirius at some given period, and concluded with Fourier, that the zodiacs of Esneh were constructed 2,500, that of Dendera 2,000 years before Christ,§ or with Nouet, that the latter was traced 2,500, the greater of the former 4,600 years anterior to that era.‖ I need not weary you farther by enumerating such systems as these. The same basis led different speculators to opposite conclusions; and error thus betrayed itself by the characteristic variety of its hues.

Early in the contest there was a class of investigators who ventured to suggest, that the alarming antiquity thus conceded to these curious monuments should be examined, not upon astronomical, but upon archæological principles. The venerable

* See Cuvier. *ubi sup*, p. 251.

† "Memoir on the Antiquity of the Zodiacs of Esneh and Dendera." *Lond.* 1821, p. 141; vid. p. 7.

‡ *Ib.* p. 59. § See Guigniaut, p. 919.

‖ Volney's "Recherches nouvelles." 3e partie. *Par*, 1814, p. 336.

and learned Monsignor Testa, and the celebrated antiquary Visconti, were among the number.* The latter remarked, in particular, that the temple of Dendera, though of Egyptian architecture, bore characteristic marks which could not be more ancient than the Ptolemies, and that Greek inscriptions upon it referred to a Cæsar, who, he thought, must be Augustus or Tiberius. This reasoning, however, was overlooked for twenty years, and astronomical illustrations were alone admitted. Mr. Bankes, during his visit to Egypt, paid considerable attention to this interesting investigation; and in a letter to Mr. David Baillie, communicated his grounds for believing these temples to be of no greater antiquity than the reigns of Adrian and Antoninus Pius.† He remarked, that while the capitals of the most ancient columns of Thebes are a simple bell, and placed on polygonal or fluted shafts, those of Esneh and Dendera are laboriously rich with foliage and fruit. More than this, the hieroglyphics upon the columns are not certainly Egyptian, for Mr. Bankes found an inscription, stating that they were traced in the reign of Antoninus.‡

The archæological arguments, however, for the modern construction of these monuments, received their full development from the hand of M. Le-

* "Testa sopra due Zodiaci novellamente scorperti nell't Egitto." *Rome*, 1802. Visconti, in Larcher's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 567, *seqq.* † Sir W. Drummond's Memoir, p. 56.

‡ *Ib.* p. 57. This, I suppose, is meant of the temple at the north of Esneh, known by the name of the small temple.

tronne. This learned scholar collected all necessary information from the publications and reports of travellers regarding their architecture, and illustrated the inscriptions still existing upon them. MM. Huyott and Gau furnished him with interesting particulars on the former subject. Among other facts they proved from its style, and from the colors employed, that the pronaon of the small temple of Esneh, in which the zodiac is painted, is of the same date with the temple itself. Now an inscription, probably the same alluded to by Mr. Bankes, was copied by these artists from a column of the latter, in which it is stated that two Egyptians caused the *paintings* to be executed in the tenth year of Antoninus—the 147th after Christ.* Such, then, is the date of the small zodiac of Esneh, to which an age had been assigned of from two to three thousand years anterior to Christ. The temple of Dendera has shared the same fate. A Greek inscription on its portico, which had been overlooked, declares it to be dedicated to the safety of Tiberius.†

While Letronne was thus occupied in examining the Greek inscriptions on these supposed vestiges of hoary antiquity, M. Champollion was maturing his alphabet of hieroglyphics, and soon confirmed by his researches the conclusion of his friend. On the pronaon of the temple of Dendera

* "Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Egypte pendant la domination des Grecs et des Romains." *Paris,* 1823, p. 456.

† *Ib.* p. 180.

he also read the hieroglyphical legend of Tiberius.* On the circular planisphere of the same temple he deciphered the letters AOTKRTR; or, supplying the vowels, AYTOKPATΩP, the title which Nero takes upon his Egyptian medals.† Only the zodiac of the great temple of Esneh remains, and M. Champollion has disposed of its antiquity, together with the temple on which it is painted, in an equally unceremonious manner. When at Naples, in August, 1826, Sir William Gell communicated to him accurate drawings of the Esneh zodiac, taken by Messrs. Wilkinson and Cooper; and he discovered that this monument was dedicated, not as the astronomers would have conjectured, under the reign of some rough-named Egyptian Pharaoh, but under the Roman emperor Commodus.‡ The sculptures of this temple he had before demonstrated to have been executed in the reign of Claudius.§

It was with justice, then, that the Minister of the Interior, the Viscount de la Rochefaucauld, in a letter addressed to the king of France, dated May 15th, 1826, attributed to M. Champollion the merit of having decided the controversy in the opinion of every unprejudiced person.

"The public suffrage," says he, "of the most distinguished learned men in Europe has conse-

* Lettre à M. Letronne, at the end of "Observations," etc., as below, p 111.

† Lettre à M. Dacier, p. 25, Letronne, p. xxxviii.

‡ "Bulletin universel," *ut sup.* tom. vi. § Letronne.

crated results, the application of which has already been very useful to the truth of history, and the assurance of sound literary doctrines. For your Majesty has not forgot that the discoveries of M. Champollion have demonstrated, without opposition, that the zodiac of Dendera, which appeared to alarm public belief, is only a work of the Roman epoch in Egypt."

It was not, however, to be expected that the resistance of adversaries would be fully overcome by these vigorous attacks. Too much learning had been expended in the support of elaborate theories, too much confidence had been exhibited in asserting favorite systems, for their authors to yield them up without a pang, and in some instances without a struggle.

"Difficile est longum subitò deponere amorem." *

The temples, it might be granted, were indeed proved to be modern, and consequently the zodiacs which they bear; but the latter must have been copied from others of an ancient date. "Thus, the original scheme of the round zodiac of Dendera must have been formed at léast seven centuries before our era." Such was the defence raised by the late Sir William Drummond in his last work,† and when he penned it, he cannot have been

* Catul. Car. lxxvi. 13.

† "Origines; or, Remarks on the Origin of several Empires," vol. ii. p. 227. *Lond.* 1825

acquainted with the learned dissertation published a few months before, in which Letronne gave the finishing stroke to this and every other defence of the absurd antiquity of the zodiacs.*

The enterprising traveller, Cailliaud, on his return from Egypt, brought, among other rarities, a mummy discovered at Thebes, and distinguished by several peculiarities. The two most important were, a Greek legend much defaced, and a zodiac, very exactly resembling that of Dendera.† In the dissertation to which I have alluded, M. Letronne undertakes the illustration of these two points, and their application to the zodiacal representations in the Egyptian temples. The inscription he restores with a felicity that must satisfy the most supercilious critic, and discovers the mummy to be that of Petemenon, son of Soter and Cleopatra, who died at the age of twenty-one years, four months, and twenty-two days, in the nineteenth year of Trajan, the 8th Payni, or June 2, A. D. 116.‡

The zodiac on the interior of the case, I have already said, resembles that of Dendera. Like it, protected by a disproportioned female figure, whose arms are extended, it exhibits the zodiacal signs in two parallel bands, ascending and descend-

* "Observations critiques et archéologiques sur l'objet des Représentations Zodiacales." *Paris*, Mars, 1824. Sir W. Drummond's dedication is dated Sept. 17, 1824.

† "Voyage à Méroé au Fleuve Blanc," etc. *Par.* 1823, fol. vol. ii. pl. lxxi. ‡ P. 30.

ing precisely in the same order, and in a similar style of design. Even the cow reposing in a boat, and emblematic of Isis or of Sirius, is not wanting. The identity, therefore, of the two representations, may be said to be fully established. But there is one peculiarity in the miniature representation. The sign of Capricorn is withdrawn from the series, and placed over the head of the figure, in an isolated situation, where it appears to dominate.*

The very existence of a zodiac upon the case of a mummy must suggest the idea that it has a reference to the embalmed; in other words, that it is *astrological*, and not astronomical. In this case, the detached sign may be supposed to represent that under which the individual was born, and which consequently was to rule his fate through life. This hypothesis is easily verified. We have the exact age of Petemenon, with the date of his death. Calculating from these, we find that he was born on January 12, A.D. 95. On that day the sun is situated at nearly two-thirds of Capricorn. If instead of the sign we prefer the constellation, the conclusion will be the same; for, calculating from Delambre's table, according to the annual precession, we find that at the period in question the whole constellation was comprised in the sign, and that on the 12th of January the sun was about the 16th degree of the former.†

We can therefore entertain no doubt that the

* P. 49. † Pp. 53, 54

zodiac expresses a natal theme; and analogy would lead us to the same conclusion regarding that of Dendera, even if the appearance of the decans, recognized by Visconti and demonstrated by Champollion, who has read beside them the names given them in Julius Firmicus, did not already authorize us to consider it astrological.

M. Letronne, however, does not content himself with this general conclusion, but enters into an elaborate examination of the astrology of the ancients. This, originally the offspring of Egypt, passed into Greece and Rome, and returned to its mother country, ennobled and consecrated, by the patronage of the Cæsars.* Precisely at the moment when the celebrated zodiacs were sketched, this science, if it may bear that name, had attained its zenith, and culminated over its native soil. Manilius, in the reign of Augustus, Vettius Valens in that of M. Aurelius, wrote their treatises concerning it; but the numerous astrological medals of Egypt, under Trajan, Adrian, and Antoninus, demonstrate its prevalence in that country.† This was likewise the age of astrological sects, of Gnostics, Ophites, and Basilidians, whose Abraxes, exhibiting various astrological combinations, had been gravely taken by some of the illustrators of the zodiacs for monuments of 3,863 years before the Christian era.‡ This concentration of evidence, the modern and nearly contemporary dates of *all* the zodiacs, the decided astrological character of

* Pp. 58–86. † Pp. 86–92. ‡ P. 70.

one, the decans upon another, and above all, the prevalence of astrological ideas at the *only* time when any zodiac existing in Egypt was made, leaves no room to doubt that *all* such representations are purely remnants of the occult science, and only exhibit genethliacal themes.*

What a waste of talents, of time, and of learning, has not truth to deplore, in retracing the history of this memorable controversy! Over what a glittering heap of ruined systems has not error to mourn—systems where all was brilliant, all was imposing, all was confident, but where all was, at the same time, hollow and brittle and unsound. We have, indeed, many cases, where a sportive or malicious fraud has deluded the ingenuity and study of an antiquary, and made him pay, like Scriblerus, to modern rust, the veneration and homage reserved to that of antiquity.† But never before did the world see an instance where "a spirit of giddiness" had so completely invaded such a large portion of learned and able men, as that they should ascribe countless ages to monuments comparatively modern, undeterred by the fall of system after system—

"And still engage
Within the same arena where they see
Their fellows fall before, like leaves of the same tree."
CHILDE HAROLD, *Canto* iv. 94.

* Pp. 105–108.

† See D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature," 2nd series, 2nd edit. *Lond.* 1824, vol. iii. p. 49, *seqq.* But many other curious examples might be added to those cited by D'Israeli.

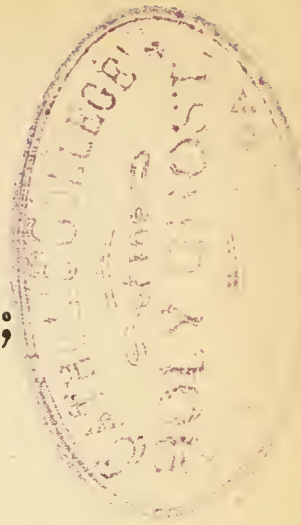
Never, in fact, did error bear more completely its hydra form. Each head was cut off the moment it appeared, but a new one rose instantly at its side, equally bold, and equally "speaking great things." For more than twenty years this galling warfare continued; but, as prejudice was gradually exhausted, and true science gained strength, the vital powers of the monster became less vigorous, and the wounds which it received more fatal. Its last gasp has long since died away; the last flap of its mortal struggles has ceased; and, only existing among the records of history it can now present no more terrors to the most simple and timid, than the "gaunt anatomy," or well-preserved coils of some desert monster, in the cabinet of the curious.

Still, it is a pleasure to see the catalogue of great names who did not bend their knee to this favorite idol, and it is only justice to record them. A writer in an English journal, long after the last researches which I have detailed, had the boldness to assert that "on the Continent,"—and he is speaking of *France* in particular—"the antiquity of the zodiacs of Dendera has been considered as quite sufficiently established to prove that the Egyptians were a learned and scientific people long before the date which our belief affixes to the creation of man:" while in England, not only was this denied, but the contrary demonstrated, *for the first time*, by Mr Bentley![*]

* "British Critic," April, 1826, p. 137, cf. 149.

By a logical process, unfortunately too common in the pages of that journal, the writer finds the cause of this phenomenon in the religions of the countries. "The baneful influence of Popery," he says induces the philosophical inquirer "to reject all revelation as no better than priestcraft;" while, "in our own free country, the encouragement given to a full and free examination of the evidence of Christianity has taught acute reasoners to know his strength."* All this was written *two years* after the last work of Letronne had closed the lists in France on the subject of the zodiacs. But if the critic had been less borne away by the desire of tilting against Catholicity, even where his challenge was with infidelity—the common adversary—he surely would have recollected the names, not only of Letronne and Champollion, but of Lalande, Visconti Paravey, Delambre, Testa, Biot, Saint-Martin, Halma, and Cuvier, every one of whom had assigned a modern epoch to these mounments. And were not numbers, but astronomical science, is required, such names as those of Lalande, Delambre, and Biot, may surely weigh in the balance against many others, and redeem the French *savans* from the sweeping imputation so injuriously cast upon them.

* P. 136, *seq.*



LECTURE THE NINTH;

ON

ARCHÆOLOGY.

INTRODUCTORY Remarks.—MEDALS: Reconciliation of an apparent contradiction between Genesis and the Acts.—Fröhlich's application of Medals to the defence of the chronology of the Maccabees.—Alexander called the first king among the Greeks: Death of Antiochus Evergetes. Acknowledgments of his opponents; accordance of Eckhel. M. Tochon d'Annecy's objections.—Apamean medals. History of them; comparison with other monuments. —INSCRIPTIONS: Verbal illustrations of Scripture from them.—Gibbon and Dodswell's assertions regarding the small number of Christian martyrs, and Burnet's objections, answered by Visconti, from inscriptions.—MONUMENTS: Use of wine in Egypt denied, and the Scripture consequently assailed. Confutation of this cavil from Egyptian monuments.—Costaz, Jomard, Champollion, and Rosellini.—Curious vase found in the Roman Campagna, referable to the Deluge.—Conquest of Juda by Shishak, represented at Karnak. Concluding remarks.

OUR last inquiries have gradually led us among the monuments of antiquity: and, from the examination of such great chronological points as touched on the authenticity of sacred history, we found ourselves almost imperceptibly brought to the discussion of individual monuments of

kings, and of their people. It might, therefore, be said, that the study on which we have now to enter has been already introduced; or, at least, that the connection between what has been said and what will follow, is so close and natural as hardly to warrant a separation into two distinct pursuits. But in all the histories hitherto examined, we have had one specific object in view—the reconciliation of their early monuments with sacred chronology, and the process we have pursued has been consequently uniform and simple. We have followed the actual progress of science, and, comparing its results with our sacred records, have invariably discovered that it removed all difficulties, and gave us a variety of new and interesting chronological coincidences.

There are, however, a multitude of monuments bearing upon the Christian evidences which could not enter into this class, and which, if introduced under the same science, would have disturbed our process, and broken the unity of our design. These, therefore, I will throw together into a distinct class, under the name of archæology. Obviously, its character will hardly allow us to pursue so uniform and progressive a method as in our last researches; for, like the objects which it discusses, it is necessarily of a fragmentary nature. It owns not the unities of time, place, or action; it professes to deal with the remains of every age, and of every country, composed of every sort of materials, and shaped in every pos-

sible form. Thus, as it turns its attention from Greece to Italy, from Sicily to Egypt, as it deciphers an inscription, discusses a medal, fixes the locality of an edifice, or judges of its age, it must vary its rules, its methods, and its direction. Hence, as a science, it cannot be said to have one definite onward movement, tending to the development of any general conclusion. Our course must be of a similar nature; we will here pick up a medal; there will pore over an inscription; we will content ourselves with such monuments as chance shall throw in our way, and carefully store up in our cabinet such illustrations or confirmations, however slight, as they may seem to afford to our sacred convictions.

To these remarks I must further add, that here I can only pretend to glean what others have left behind. Of the species of confirmatory evidences which these lectures pursue, none has been oftener or more fully handled than the illustrations from such antiquarian remains. Every elementary introduction to Scripture dedicates a chapter to this subject; though, in some instances, as in the monument of the Assyrian captivity given by Horne from Kerr Porter, the examples are far from certain; in others, as in the Apamean medal, by no means accurate. Now, I have pledged myself to bring forward no examples already given in works upon the evidences, and therefore I must be content with such as the industry of others may have overlooked.

I cannot avoid mentioning, in this place, a work which has taken one class of monuments out of our hands—those that relate to the history of Christianity. I mean Walsh's *Essay on ancient coins, medals and gems, as illustrating the progress of Christianity in the early ages.** It is a work, however, which must disappoint expectation. Most of its materials are but a secondary interest; a great portion of the volume is taken up with an account of the Gnostics, and their doctrines, and makes but a sorry figure beside the profound researches of such continental writers as Neander and Hahn. The second part of the work gives a series of medals, illustrative of the imperial history from Diocletian to John Zemiscus in 969, and so far is interesting; but it contains many inaccuracies, and gives the author opportunities of displaying an ill-timed illiberality.

With these disadvantages, we will enter upon our researches among the medals, inscriptions, and monuments of antiquity.

I. There is an apparent contradiction between the narratives in Gen xxxiii. 19, and in Acts vii. 16, relating to the purchase of a field by Jacob from the Hemorites. For St. Stephen, in the latter passage, tells us that the price was paid in a sum of money, *τιμῆς ἀργυρίου*, whereas the original text of Genesis says that it was paid by a *hundred lambs*, or sheep. At least, the Hebrew word there used, קשיטה (*Kesita*), is so rendered by

* *London*, 1828.

every ancient version. Hence, the English version, which renders it by *pieces of money*, has added in the margin, as nearer the original, the other interpretation. Supposing this rendering of the ancient versions to be correct, and there must have been some reason for their all giving that meaning to the word, there was a very simple method of reconciling the two passages, by considering the same term to have expressed both objects; in other words, by conjecturing that the ancient Phenician coin bore upon it the figure of a lamb, for which it was an equivalent, and that from this emblem, is also derived its name. For nothing is more common than such a substitution. Among our ancestors, the *angel* and *cross*, so often alluded to in Shakspeare, received their names from the representation they bore; and among the Romans, the very name of money, *pecunia*, is allowed to be derived from the exactly similar case of a sheep being stamped upon it. Any apparent difficulty would thus be satisfactorily removed by a highly probable conjecture. But the publication of a medal, found by Dr. Clarke near Citium in Cyprus, has given us all the evidence we might desire. The late learned Dr. Munter presented a dissertation on this subject to the Royal Danish Academy inserted in their Acts for 1822.* In it he observes that the coin, which is of silver, is undoubtedly Phenician, as it bears upon the reverse a legend in Phenician characters. On the obverse is the

* Philosophical and Historical Class.

figure of a sheep; and no doubt can be entertained of its extreme antiquity. Here, then, he concludes, it is extremely probable, that we have the very coin alluded to in Scripture; at least, we now know for certain that the Phenicians had a coin with a symbol corresponding to the meaning of the word Kesita; and the element alone wanting to make the conjectural reconciliation morally certain now exists.*

A most complete and valuable application of numismatics, to the vindication of sacred chronology, has been made in reference to the latest historical works of the Jews, the two books of Maccabees. No books of Scripture had been subjected to a stricter examination than these, because they entered among the topics of religious dispute, after the Reformation. The Catholic, who believes them to form part of the canonical Scriptures, feels necessarily a livelier interest concerning them; but to all Christians they must appear of immense value, from forming the last and only historical link in the connection between the old and new dispensations, and the only record of the fulfilment of those promises which foretold the restoration and continuation of the Jewish sceptre till the Messiah should come. Great difficulties, however, existed regarding the dates assigned

* On the reverse, with the legend, is a crown of *pearls*. One would be tempted to suspect that such a circumstance may account for the strange translation of the two Targums of Onkelos and Jerusalem, which both render מאה קשיטה a hundred Kesites, by מאה מרגליך a hundred *pearls*.

by them to events related no less in classical history and the manner in which they recounted them. By some strange inconsistency it has almost always happened that when the evidence of any sacred book is compared with that of a profane author, it is taken for granted that the form must be in error, if both do not agree. This we have seen to be the case in treating of Indian and Egyptian antiquities. Where they did not harmonize with Scripture chronology, this was pronounced in fault; though, critically speaking, it must be allowed at least an equal weight with them. Now, precisely the same course was pursued here. Discrepancies were undoubtedly found to exist between the dates assigned to events in these and in other authors later in time and more distant in country from the scene of those actions; and of course, the sacred book was condemned as inaccurate. Erasmus Fröhlich, in the preface to his *Annals of the Kings and Events of Syria*, a numismatic work of great authority and research, has undertaken the task of comparing the chronology of these books, not with the vague testimony of other historians, often differing among themselves, but with the contemporary and incontestable evidence of medals. And the result has been a table confirming, in every respect, the order and epochs of events recorded in the inspired history.*

* "Annales compendiarii Regum et Rerum Syriæ." Ed sec. *Vien.* 1754. The second part of his Prolegomena is entirely taken up with the vindication of these books.

You will easily suppose that the objections were not given up without a struggle. The first edition of Fröhlich's work appeared in 1744, and two years later, Ernest Fred. Wernsdorff appeared in the field against him.* His efforts were not considered satisfactory by his party, and his brother, Gottlieb, came to his assistance in the following year.† Both were fully answered by an anonymous work in 1749;‡ and, in spite of the virulence exhibited by the two brothers, I think, whoever reads the controversy will be satisfied that the victory was not with them. However, in giving two or three examples of Fröhlich's illustrations, I will select such as the Wernsdorffs themselves acknowledge to be satisfactory.

In the first book of Maccabees, vi. 2, Alexander the Great is introduced with this description,—ὃς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι—*who first was king among the Greeks.* This, it has been alleged, is false; inasmuch as Alexander had several predecessors in Macedon, who certainly were kings, and reigned among the Greeks. It may be answered, indeed, that he was the first among them who founded an empire bearing their name; but the solution given by Fröhlich is far more satisfac-

* "De fontibus Historiæ Syriæ in Libris Maccabæorum prolusio." *Lips.* 1746.

† "Gottlieb Wernsdorffii Commentatio historico-critica de fide historica librorum Maccabaicorum." *Wratislau,* 1747.

‡ "Auctoritas utriusque libri Maccab. canonico-historica adserta . . . . . a quodam Soc. Jesu sacerdote Curante Casparo Schmidt bibliopego." *Vien.* 1749.

tory. For it is extraordinary, that whatever may have been the power of other monarchs before him, not one ever took the title of Βασιγευς, or king, upon his coin, before him. "Certainly," says Fröhlich, "it is not without importance, that no medal of undoubted genuineness of sovereigns in Macedon, anterior to Alexander, should bear the title of *king*. They have barely the names of the monarchs, as Amyntas, Archelaus, Perdiccas, Philip; and some coins have simply Alexander, but many more King Alexander."* Gottlieb Wernsdorff acknowledges that this solution is correct. "This," he says, "is right, I could hardly suppose that any doubt could exist on this point. For Jewish historians, under the name of Greeks (τῶν Ἑλλήνων), always understand the Macedonians, and by *kingdom*, the Macedonian empire, or more peculiarly that of the Seleucidæ." He, however, charges Fröhlich with a double fraud; first, in attributing to Philip Aridæus a medal of Philip Amyntor, given by Spanheim, on which the title of king occurs; secondly, in overlooking a medal of Argæus.—"Dicitur quoque extare numus Argæi, regis antiquissimi cum epigraphe Αργειου Βασιλεως."* To these objections the anonymous defender of Fröhlich replies—that the supposed Amyntor of Span-

* "Sane non de nihilo est, veterum qui ante Alexandrum fuissent Macedoniæ regum certa numismata Βασιλεως titulum non præ se ferre: sola comparent regum nomine: Αμυντα vel Αμυντου, Αρχελαου, Περδικκου, Φιλιππου, et quædum numismata Αλεξανδρου legimus, alia plura Βασιλεως Αλεξανδρου."—FRÖHLICH, p. 31. † "Commentatio," § xxii. p. 39.

heim is manifestly, from the style of art, a coin of a Gallo-Grecian king; and that the Argæus of Tollius, no one had ever seen, or could pretend to trace. He assures us also that he and Fröhlich had carefully examined every medal in the imperial and other cabinets, and had never found the title upon any prior to Alexander.*

Again, the second book gives us, in the first chapter, a letter from the Jews of Palestine to their brethren in Egypt, dated in the year of the Seleucidæ 188, and containing a detailed narrative of the death of King Antiochus in Persia. What Antiochus, it has been asked, could this be? Independently of chronological objections, it could not certainly be Antiochus Soter, who died at Antioch; not his successor, Antiochus Theus, who was poisoned by Laodice; nor Antiochus Magnus, who was friendly to the Jews. Of Antiochus Epiphane's end we have quite a different account in the very same book (ix. 5). Antiochus Eupator, his successor, after a reign of two years, was killed by Demetrius, and the infant of the same royal name, who was proclaimed king by Tryphon, was soon poisoned by him as well. No other sovereign of this name remains but Antiochus Sidetes, called also Evergetes, whose reign alone coincides with the time of the letter. But a difficulty, apparently as serious as any of the preceding, seemed to exclude him; for this monarch commenced his reign in 174, and Porphyrius and Eusebius agree in assign-

* Oper. cit. p. 170.

ing less than nine years as the term of its duration. He must, therefore, have died in war, according to them, about the year 182. How, then, could the Jews, in 188, give an account of his death as of a recent event? Could we imagine, for instance, the members of any religious community nowadays writing a common letter to their brethren in a very near country, to convey the intelligence that the sovereign who oppressed them was dead, full six years after that event? This concurring testimony of two historians was considered decisive against the Jewish historian, and Prideaux unhesitatingly adopted it as correct.* Now Fröhlich has proved, beyond a doubt, that *they* must be wrong. First, he produced two medals bearing the name of Antiochus, with dates, one of 183, the other 184; consequently later by two years than the time which those historians assign to his death. One is as follows:—

ΒΑΙCΑΕΩC. ΑΝΤ*ιοχου* ΤΥΡ: ΙΕΡ: ΑCΥ. ΑΠΡ.

Of King Antiochus; of Tyre, the sacred Asylum, 184.†

The controversy upon these medals has been carried down into our own times. Ernest Wernsdorff acknowledges the genuineness of the medal, and allows that it satisfactorily proves Antiochus Sidetes to have lived beyond the period assigned to him by profane history; and even seems to add his own testimony to that of Fröhlich. For he

* "Old and New Testaments connected." Chronolog Table at the end of vol. iv. ed. 1742.

† P. 24. See the medals in his plate xi. Nos. 27, 29.

thus expresses himself: "Quamquam igitur quod ad numismata et annos iisdem inscriptos attinet facile assentior; eidem cum ipsi mihi, beneficio consultissimi viri complures ab Antiocho procusos numos oculis usurpare manibusque tractare contigerit." * His auxiliary, however, was more unyielding, for he suggests that the legend has been misread, and that, probably, a slight alteration in a letter has changed the number 181 into 184.† But if even we allow all that has been written against these two medals to be valid, there are others, produced subsequently to the animadversions of the two brothers, which seem to place the matter out of doubt. For Fröhlich afterwards published a medal of the same king with the date of 185;‡ and Eckhel added a fourth, struck in 186.§

This point of sacred chronology was re-examined a few years ago by M. Tochon d'Annecy,‖ who was manifestly guided by no desire to weaken the authority of the books of Maccabees. He proves what every one will allow, that serious

* "De fontibus historiæ Syriæ," p. xiii.

† "Commode legi posset AIIP 181, cum elementum A et Δ adeo similibus lineis exaretur, ac numus ipse mutilus sit, ut ne nomen quidem Antiochi distincte exhibeat."—*Ubi sup.* sec. xlii. p. 79; cf. the reply, p. 288.

‡ "Ad numismata regum veterum anecdota et rariora accessio nova," p. 69.

§ "Sylloge Numorum veterum," p. 8. "Doctrina Numorum veterum," tom. iii. p. 236.

‖ "Dissertation sur l'Epoque de la Mort d'Antiochus VII. Evergetès Sidétès." *Paris*, 1815.

difficulties surround every hypothesis, and that the concurrent testimony of historians should not be lightly rejected. Apparent contradictions, indeed, must meet us in every part of history; the difficulty is where to lay the blame. The medals struck for the coronation of Louis XIV. give a different day from that which all contemporary historians accord in fixing for the date of that event. Of them all, only one, D. Ruinart, has noticed a circumstance which reconciles this discrepancy. For he alone has recorded that the coronation had been appointed to take place on a certain day, the one given by the medals, which were accordingly prepared, but circumstances caused a delay till the one which historians assign. Nothing can be more simple than all this; yet, in a thousand years, had no such explanation been given, antiquaries might have been sadly perplexed to find a reconciliation. In that case, then, the medals were wrong, and the historians right; in ours we are equally driven to condemn one class of authorities, and I think the critic will hardly hesitate which to prefer. For, in the example given, the medals are inaccurate, from the date once placed on them not having been changed, when the event which they commemorated was deferred; but here we must suppose the incredible error of successive false dates, in consequence of new medals being struck to a monarch who was long before dead.

M. Tochon rejects the two earlier medals,

chiefly that of 184, on grounds different from Wernsdorff's but admitted by Eckhel, that the supposed Δ, or 4, which is somewhat indistinct, appears to be a B, or 2, of peculiar shape.* But against the two later medals he urges nothing but plausibilities; the difficulties which we incur by considering them genuine, to the disparagement of so many historical authorities.† In some respects he is hardly just to Fröhlich; for he assumes throughout that the learned Jesuit places the death of the king in 188,‡ and consequently asks how it happens that we have medals of his successor, Antiochus Grypus, with the date of 187.§ Now Fröhlich places the death of the Antiochus Evergetes in 186.‖ In this manner the circumstance of no medal of Antiochus Grypus bearing an older date, forms a negative confirmation of his opinion. Thus far, therefore, it should seem, that the application of medals has served to defend the chronology of these sacred records.

I will now call your attention to a class of medals long the subject of serious disputes and endless conjectures, and allusive to that great revolution which has already several times occupied our notice. After the proofs we have seen of the

* "Dissertation," p. 22. † P. 64. ‡ Pp. 24, 29, etc

§ "Commet alors supposer, que la mort d'Antiochus Evergetès puisse âtre arrivée l'an 188? Elle serait postérieur au ègne de son fils" (p. 61).

‖ "Anno CLXXXVI. Circa hoc tempus contigisse existimo cæden Antiochi VII. Evergetis" (p. 88).

Deluge in the traditions of every country, "from China to Peru;" after the visible evidences of its action, which we have discovered piled up on the mountains and scooped out in the valleys of our globe, it will perhaps appear mere trifling to occupy ourselves about the petty monuments on which any particular nation, much more any city, may have thought proper to inscribe its traditions concerning it. Still must we not neglect small things on account of greater; but make all contribute, where they can, to the noble and glorious cause of religion. It is evident that the ancients had two very different legends of the Deluge, one a popular fable adapted to their national mythology, another far more philosophical, derived from the traditions of the East, and consequently much more in accordance with the scriptural narration. The former is the Deluge of the poets, such as Ovid has described it; and Millin has observed, that no monument exists whereon it is represented.* The other account of this event is preserved in the writings of Lucian and Plutarch. According to this tradition, Deucalion is represented as making an ark or chest (λάρνακα), into which he retired, taking with him a couple of every species of animals, as well as his wife and children. In this ark they sailed so long as the inundation lasted, and "this," says Lucian at the end of his narrative, "is the *historical* account given by the Greeks, concerning Deuca-

* "Galerie Mythologique." *Par.* 1811, tom. ii. p. 136.

lion."* Plutarch adds, that the return of a dove first gave notice to Deucalion of the waters being dried up.† Now the medals of which I am going to treat, with another monument, which I shall by-and-by describe, contain the representation of this traditional history.

These imperial bronze medals of the city of Apamea, in Phrygia, bear on one side the head of different emperors, of Severus, Macrinus and Philip the elder. The reverse is uniform, having the representation drawn on the lithograph placed in your hands (pl. 1, fig. 1). It is thus described by Eckhel: "A chest swimming upon the waters, in which a man and woman appear from the breast upwards. Without it, advance with their faces turned from it, a woman robed, and a man in a short garment, holding up their right hands. On the lid of the chest stands a bird, and another, balanced in air holds in its claws an olive branch."‡ The small compass of a medal could hardly give a more expressive representation of this great event. We have two different scenes, but manifestly the same actors. For the costume and heads of the persons standing outside do not allow us to consider them others than the figures in the ark. We have these individuals first floating over the waters

* "De dea Syra," vol. ii. p. 661, ed. Bened. *Amst.* 1687.

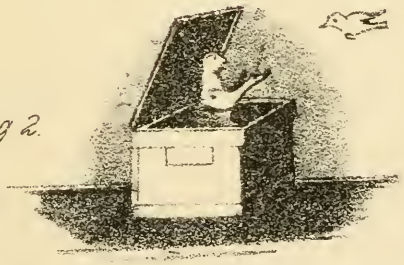
† "Utrum animalia terrestria aut aquatica magis sint solertia." Oper. *Par.* 1572, tom. iii. p. 1783.

‡ "Doctrina Numorum veterum." *Vienna,* 1793, part I. vol. iii. p. 130.

APAMEAN MEDAL.

Fig. 1.

Fig 2.



Lith. by Kimmel & Voigt 254 & 256 Canal St. N.Y.

in an ark, then standing on dry land in an attitude of admiration,* with the dove bearing the symbol of peace above them.

But the most interesting circumstance yet remains. On the front panel of this ark are some letters, and the discussion of their import has been the subject of many learned dissertations. The first who published these medals was Octavius Falconieri, in Rome, in 1667. The engraving which he gives of the Paris Severus, has the letters NHTΩN; which he reads in continuation of MAΓ *μαγνητων*.† Vaillant pretended to read on it, and on the Chigi medal of Philip, NEΩK, for *νεωκορων*. The Rev. Mr. Mills gave an essay on this subject, inserted in the fourth volume of the *Archæologia*, by the Royal Antiquarian Society, in which he maintains all to be spurious which read not thus. Bianchini published two copies of this medal, on one of which he reads NΩE, and on the other NEΩ.‡ the former of which readings Falconieri also gives upon another medal. Thus we had four versions of this legend, and every new inquiry seemed still more to involve the controversy. The reading NΩE appeared too favorable to the object proposed in the first publication of these medals, not to be held in

* Eckhel, *ibid.* p. 136.

† "De nummo Apamensi Deucalionei diluvii typum exhibente Dissertatio, ad P. Seguinum." *Rome*, 1667.

‡ "La Storia universale provata con monumenti." *Rome*, 1697 pp. 186. 191

suspicion; and such was the dread of admitting anything so good to be true, that Mr. Barrington, allowing this to be the correct legend, would not believe it to have any allusion to the scriptural name, but rather supposed it to stand for ΝΩΙ, *we*, dual of εγω, and be a compendious representation of Ovid's words: "Nos duo turba sumus!"* The fact is, that of all these readings not one is correct; for Eckhel has proved that the medals only bear two letters, ΝΩ. This he has proved from his own and Fröhlich's observation of the Vienna and Florence medals, from Venuti's of that in the Albani cabinet, and Barthelemy's, of the Paris Severus. Indeed, in some only the Ν is visible, but at the same time, in most, trace of a third letter is discernible, which has not been purposely erased, but worn out from being the most prominent point in the relief. Eckhel, after examining the different explanations given by others to this legend, rejects them, and concludes that as the entire scene represented on the medal bears manifest reference to the Noachian Deluge, so must the inscription on the ark; and that, consequently, it is the name of that patriarch. This he illustrates from the coins of Magnesia in Ionia, on which is the figure of a ship, bearing the inscription ΑΡΓΩ; no doubt for the purpose of clearly specifying the mythological event to which it refers, the expedition of the Argonauts.†

* "Archæologia," vol. iv. p. 315. † P. 132.

But here an obvious difficulty occurs; what could have induced the Apameans to choose such an event for their symbol on their coins? This difficulty, too, is satisfactorily removed. It was customary for cities to take, as their emblems, any remarkable event which was fabled to have happened there. Thus the city of Thermæ, in Sicily, has Hercules upon its coins, because he is supposed in mythology to have there reposed. Now, this is precisely the case with Apamea; or, as it anciently was called, Celæne. For the Sibylline books, which, however spurious, are sufficient testimony of the existence of a popular tradition, expressly tell us that in the neighborhood of Celæne stands the mountain Ararat, upon which the ark reposed. This tradition, evidently having no reference to Deucalion's deluge, the seat of which was Greece, is sufficient to account for the adoption of such a representation upon the Apamean coins. Hence, too, probably arose another ancient name of this city, Κιβωτος, the *Ark*, as Winkelmann has shown; and this name is the very word used by the Septuagint and Josephus in describing Noah's ark.*

Here, then, we have an instance of a monument illustrative of Scripture, which owes its certainty and authority to the progress of the very science which first presented it. For we have seen the learned medallist, who may be said to have first reduced the study of coins into a systematic order,

* See Winkelmann's "Monumenti antichi inediti." *Rome*, 1767, tom. ii. p. 258. Eckhel, *ib.* pp. 132, 139.

and incorporated the whole science into one plan, was also the first to clear away all uncertainty from these interesting documents, and place their meaning above all doubt.

But it might be objected that such a representation of the ark can hardly be considered in accordance with either the sacred or the profane description of the Deluge before rehearsed; inasmuch as these suppose not merely Noah and his wife, but all his family, and many animals, to have been shut up in the ark. Such circumstances can hardly be expressed by the representation of a small chest, containing two individuals. To remove this difficulty, I would propose a comparison between the early Christian monuments and the representations on the medals, for in the former, no one can doubt that the Scripture narrative was kept in view. In them the ark is always represented as a square chest, floating upon a stream of water. In it is seen only the figure of the patriarch from the waist upwards; and above, the dove bearing the olive branch towards him. Such is the representation on four marble sarcophagi given by Aringhi,* and in the painting of the second chamber in the cemetery of Callistus.† An exactly similar representation is given from a metal lamina by the senator Buonarotti,‡ and illustrated by Ciam-

* "Roma subterranea." *Rome*, 1651, tom. i. pp. 325, 331, 333; tom. ii. p. 143.

† *Ib.* p. 539. See also pp. 551, 556.

‡ "Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro," tom. i. fig. 1.

pini.* Some of these paintings seem to show the cover of the chest raised open above the head of the patriarch, as in the Apamean medals.† Again, as in these, the figure of Noah is sometimes seen out of the ark, standing on dry land, with the symbolic dove to specify who he is. For so Boldetti enumerates, among the common Christian symbols: "Noè dentro e talvolta fuori dell' arca, colla colomba."‡ In fine, the dove is sometimes seen perched upon the ark, as on the medal; but then the figure of the patriarch is wanting. Thus it is on the Fogginian gem, described by Mamachi.§ To enable you better to make the comparison between the sacred and profane representations, I have had a painting from the cemetery of Callistus drawn beside the Apamean medal (Fig. 2). And I think, after seeing the two together, you will conclude, not only that thereby is removed every difficulty as to whether such an ark as Noah's could ever have been represented as we see it on the medals, but that the

* "Dissertatio de duobus emblematibus Musæi Card. Carpinei." *Rome*, 1748, p. 18. Bianchini has also published, from an ancient glass, a miniature representation of the same scene. (Demonstratio historiæ ecclesiasticæ quadripartitæ comprobatæ monumentis. *Rome*, 1753, p. 585.) It is marked No. 159, in the last sheet of the second plate, illustrative of the second century.

† See examples in Aringhi, tom. ii. pp. 67, 105, 187, 315.

‡ "Osservazioni sopra i Cimiterri, etc. *Rome*, 1720, lib. i. p. 22.

§ "Originum et antiquitatum Christianar." lib. xx. tom. iii. *Rome*, 1731, p. 22, tab. ii. fig. 6.

resemblance between the two classes of monuments is such as to warrant our considering their subjects identical. Add to this, that the difference of age between the two cannot be very great; and that it is evident the Christians, in these paintings, which are so uniform in different monuments, had a common type, quite distinct from the sacred narrative, for their designs, and that this type was probably borrowed from other traditions.

II. From medals let us turn to inscriptions, a higher order of monuments, inasmuch as they are generally more detailed in the information they convey. The greatest advantage which has been derived from this class of ancient remains, consists in verbal illustrations of obscure passages in Scripture, which they have often afforded; but were I to enlarge upon this species of philological confirmation or explanation, which the sacred text has received from them, it is plain that I should lead you into minute detail and learned disquisition, hardly suitable to the purport of these lectures. Yet, whatever throws new light upon any passage of Scripture, and whatever vindicates its phraseology from any charge of inconsistency or barbarism, tends likewise to increase our clear apprehension of it, and gives us additional evidence of its authenticity. I will therefore content myself with one example, taken from a learned dissertation by Dr. Fred. Münter, entitled, *Specimens of Sacred Observations from Greek Marbles;* inserted a few years ago in the Copenhagen

Miscellany.* In John iv. 46, mention is made of a τις βασιλικος, a *certain nobleman, or ruler, or courtier*, for in all these ways it is rendered. The English verison has the first, with the other two in the margin; and of this interpretation a modern commentator observes, that it "conveys the notion of hereditary rank, and certain dignities, to which there was nothing in Palestine, or even in Syria, that corresponded."† Some have thought it meant one of the royal blood, another a royal soldier; others have considered it a proper name. The most probable explanation of the word seemed that of Krebs, that it signified a minister or servant of the kings.‡ The examples he brought

* "Symbolæ ad interpretationem N. T. ex marmoribus, numis, lapidibusque cælatis, maxime Græcis." In the "Miscellanea Hafnensia theologici et philologici argumenti," tom. i. fascic. i. *Copenhag.* 1816. † Campbell, *in loc.*

‡ "Observationes Flavianæ," p. 144. Six of Griesbach's codices read *βασιλίσκος*, and it is evident that the translator of the Vulgate read it so; for that version has "quidam *regulus*," or as we have rendered it, "a certain ruler." Schleusner supposes this reading to have risen from the Vulgate, but the contrary is much more probable. It may not be out of place to remark in this note, that although the Vulgate has rendered the word by a diminutive, in Hellenistic Greek it has by no means that signification. This appears from an inscription of Silco, king of Nubia, first published from a less perfect copy of M. Gau, by Niebuhr, in his "Inscriptiones Nubienses," *Rome*, 1820; and again, from one of M Caillaud, by Letronne, in the "Journal des Savans," Feb 1825, pp. 98, 99. This king begins the magnificent recital of his victories by Εγω Σιλκω *βασιλισκος, των Νουβαδων και ὁλων των Αιθιοπων.* Even if the judicious axiom of M.

from authors did not satisfy many commentators. A new one produced by Münter from an inscription on Memnon's statue, written in the same Greek dialect, the Hellenistic, as the New Testament, puts this translation on a more secure footing. For in it mention is made of Αρτεμιδωρος Πτολεμαιου βασιλικος, Artemidorus, the *courtier*, or servant, of Ptolemy. For the addition of the king's name will admit of no other translation.*

To come now to instances of more general importance and interest, and from words to things, I will give you an example of the services which inscriptions may render to the great evidences of Christianity. Whoever has but superficially studied these, is aware of the importance of the argument drawn from the alacrity with which the early Christians encountered death in defence of their religion. From the visions of the Revelations to the great ecclesiastical history of Eusebius the Church annals present us a cloud of witnesses, a host of martyrs who returned love for love, and life for life, sealing their confession

Salverte, in his "Essai sur les Noms propres," "Jamais peuple ne s'est donné à lui-même un nom peu honorable," did not apply to monarchs, in the proclamation of their titles, the words in the tenth and eleventh lines would leave no doubt of the true meaning. For he there says: ότε εγεγνε μην βασιλισκος, "I was not behind other princes, but I have been superior to them." M. Letronne illustrates many phrases of this inscription from the Greek of the Septuagint and New Testament.

* "Miscellanea," p. 18.

with their blood, and setting at nought the malice and cruelty of relentless persecutors. And in this firmness of conviction, this steadfastness of faith, this boldness of profession, and this enthusiasm of love, we have surely proof of the powerful might with which a thousand evidences, now read, but then seen and felt, laid hold of their minds; and, in the strength which supported them through every cruel trial, we have a demonstration of a strong inward principle counteracting in them the feebleness of our nature; and in the nothingness of every effort to overcome them or utterly destroy them, we have evidence of a protecting arm, of the secure promise of One who could bring to nought every weapon forged against His work. Who, then, can be surprised at the ingenuity with which every discredit has been thrown upon that interesting fact of ecclesiastical history, and that Gibbon should have employed all the meretricious brilliancy of his own style, and borrowed all the learning of his predecessors, to prove that Christianity had but few martyrs, and that these suffered death rather from their own imprudence than from any malice or hatred to Christianity in their enemies: that they were driven to the scaffold by an ambitious or restless spirit rather than by any hallowing and inspired motive.—"Their persons," he concludes, "were esteemed holy, their decisions were admitted with deference, and they too often abused, by their spir-

itual pride and licentious manners the predominance which their zeal and intrepidity had acquired. Distinctions like these, while they display their exalted merit, betray the inconsiderable number of those who suffered, and of those who died for the profession of Christianity."* The learned Dodwell, in his dissertations on St. Cyprian, had prepared the way for this attack upon the historical evidences of Christianity, by maintaining that the number of martyrs was but inconsiderable, and that, after the reign of Domitian, the Church enjoyed perfect tranquillity.† Doubtless Ansaldi and others have well performed the task of confuting these assertions upon historical grounds; but monumental inscriptions, afford the most direct and satisfactory means of overthrowing them. Visconti has taken the pains to collect from the voluminous works on Christian antiquity, such inscriptions a show the number of those who shed their blood for Christ.‡

The cruelty of the heathen persecutions, even under emperors of mild principles and gentle rule, is sufficiently attested by a pathetic inscription given by Aringhi from the cemetery of Callistus. "Alexander is not dead, but liveth above the stars. and his body rests in this tomb. He finished his

* "Decline and Fall," ch. xvi.

† "Dissertationes Cyprianicæ." Dissert. xi. p. 57. ed. calc. Cypr. Opp. *Oxon.* 1682.

‡ In the "Memorie Romane di Antichitâ," tom. i. *Rome*, 1825.

life under the Emperor Antoninus, who, when he saw that much favor was due, instead of kindness returned him hatred. For, when bending his knee about to sacrifice to the true God, he was dragged off to punishment. Oh unhappy times! wherein amidst our sacred rites and prayers we cannot be safe even in caverns. What is more miserable than life? But, on the other hand, what more miserable than death? for we cannot be even buried by our friends and families."* This pathetic lamentation will explain the difficulties which the Christians must have experienced in recording the names of their martyrs, and why they were so often obliged to content themselves with giving their numbers. Thus we have the following inscriptions in the catacombs:†

MARCELLA ET CHRISTI MARTYRES CCCCCL.

(Marcella and 550 martyrs of Christ.)

HIC REQUIESCIT MEDICUS CUM PLURIBUS.

(Here rests Medicus with Many.)

CL MARTYRES CHRISTI.

(150 Martyrs of Christ.)

* "Alexander mortuus non est, sed vivit super astra, et corpus in hoc tumulo quiescit. Vitam explevit cum Antonio Imp. qui ubi multum benefitii antevenire previderet progratia odium reddit: genua enim flectens, vero Deo sacrificaturus, ad supplicia ducitur. O tempora infausta! quibus inter sacra et vota ne in cavernis quidem salvari possimus! Quid miserius vita? sed quid miserius in morte, cum ab amicis et parentibus sepeliri nequeant?"—Aringhi, "Roma Subterranea," tom. ii. p. 685.

† Visconti, pp. 112, 113.

These inscriptions clearly prove the cruelty of the persecutions, and the great number of the martyrs.

Having thus seen the custom of commemorating in one short inscription so many sufferers for the faith of Christ, we are led to the natural conclusion that when a simple number is found inscribed upon a stone, it may refer to the same circumstance. This, the antiquarian to whom I have referred, seems satisfactorily to have proved; for it had often been supposed that such numerals referred to some series in which the inscriptions had been arranged. But not to say that any such series or any approximation to it cannot be discovered, these ciphers are sometimes inscribed in a manner which could hardly have been adopted were they simply progressive numbers. For instance, they are sometimes surrounded by a wreath supported by doves; in one place the word TRIGINTA, *thirty*, is written at full, with the monogram of Christ's name before and after, which excludes all idea of its being merely a reference to a progressive series: in another the number XV is followed by IN *Pace*, *in peace*. The conjecture that such simple inscriptions record the death of as many martyrs as the numbers signify, passes into absolute certainty when confirmed by a passage in Prudentius, writing on the catacombs while the traditions regarding them were yet fresh: "There are many marbles," he tells us, "closing tombs, which only indicate a number; you thus know

how many bodies lie piled together; but you read not their names. I remember I learned there that the remains of sixty bodies were buried under one heap."

"Sunt et multa tamen tacitas claudentia tumbas
Marmora quæ solum significant numerum.
Quanta virum jaceant congestis corpora acervis
Scire licet, quorum nomina nulla legas.
Sexaginta illic defossa mole sub una
Reliquias memini me didicisse hominum."*

These verses leave us nothing to desire; they put us in possession of a great many inscriptions which, while they only record numbers, prove most sufficiently that they were truly many who, in those first ages, bore testimony to the Lord Jesus.

But a new antiquarian difficulty here meets us. For Burnet has asserted that no monument has been found whereby it can be proved that the Christians possessed the catacombs before the fourth century.† General negative assertions are always easy to make, and doubtless hard to prove; but, on the other hand, they are the easiest to confute, for one instance to the contrary will suffice. So it is here. One only of the numeral inscriptions already explained will demonstrate all that we want. It runs thus:

N· XXX· SURRA· ET SENEC· COSS·

(30. In the consulate of Surra and Senecio.)

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* "Carmina." *Romæ*, 1788, tom. ii. p. 1164, Carm. xi.

† "Some Letters from Italy." *Lond.* 1724, p. 224.

Now Surra and Senecio were consuls in the year of Christ 107, the very era of Trajan's persecution. But there is another most valuable inscription given by Marangoni, which places this question out of doubt. It is that of Gaudentius, an architect, whom this learned antiquarian believes to have been the director in building the Colosseum. The inscription in the Catacombs tells us that he suffered death under Vespasian. Nor can it be supposed that it was erected later to his honor. For it is distinguished by a particular sort of accents, or apices, over some syllables, which the learned Marini has shown to have been in use only from Agustus to Trajan.* Consequently the inscription must have been engraved before this emperor's reign.

These inscriptions are a strong additional evidence what numbers must have laid down their lives for the faith, and have thus conduced towards confuting a powerful objection against one of the most interesting and beautiful confirmations of Christianity.

III. Although medals and inscriptions may justly be considered monuments, yet I have reserved this term rather for the class of more completely commemorative symbols, which, by representations speaking to the eye, preserve the remembrance of great events, or of the practices and customs of ancient times. The value of such

* "Atti dei Fratelli Arvali," p. 760.

monuments must be very great; for they are the deliberate committal of the fame of generations to those that follow them;—the representatives and substitutes of nations, who, knowing themselves to be perishable and mortal, have erected them, fashioning them as best they could to their own image and likeness,—have clothed them with that grandeur and splendor which might best symbolize their own estate,—have written on them all the thoughts of pride which influenced their own hearts, have embodied in them all the vastness of their ambition, and the immeasurableness of their wishes, and have breathed into them a soul of silent recollections, an appealing power, which fastens on the sympathies, and speaks to the heart of living generations as though they communed with the concentrated energy of the whole extinguished race. And alas! too well have they made them in general typical of themselves: epigraphs, like their history, an enigma for the scholar to pore over; ground-plans, like their constitutions, a ruinous labyrinth for the antiquarian to restore; sculptured images, like their national character, time-worn and featureless, for the poet to muse on; mighty fabrics, like the mighty men who raised them, disjointed, mouldered, scattered into dust, whereon the philosopher may meditate, and whereby human pride may be humbled. But a far sweeter lesson will they speak to us if man's design, or Providence's guidance, shall have somewhere caused them to

bear any slight uneffaced memorial of things sacred to us, though worthless to those who noted them, if, as among the sculptured images on Titus's triumphal arch, the emperors who erected them, and who ride thereon in triumph, shall have been mutilated, disfigured, and almost blotted from the very record of their greatness; but the golden candlestick of the temple, the lamp of holy evidence, shall remain upon them,—a trophy then of war, now of prophecy,—a token to them of victory, and to us of unconquerable strength.

In the last century, the books of Moses were often attacked on account of grapes and vineyards being mentioned in them,* and perhaps wine,† as used in Egypt.‡ For Herodotus expressly tells us, that in Egypt there were no vineyards,§ and Plutarch assures us that the natives of that country abhorred wine, as being the blood of those who had rebelled against the gods.‖ So conclusive did these authorities appear, that the contrary statements of Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, and Athenæus, were considered by the learned authors of the *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, as quite overbalanced by the testimony of Herodotus alone.¶ Hence, he

* Gen. xl. 9; xliii. 13.

† Num. xx. 5.

‡ See Bullet, "Réponses critiques," *Besancon* 1819, tom. iii p. 142; Duclot s "Bible vengée," *Brescia*, 1821, tom ii. p. 244.

§ Lib. ii. cap. lxxvii.

‖ "De Iside et Osiride," § 6.

¶ Vol. iii. pp. 121, *seqq.* English trans.

concluded that wine was ordered in the Jewish sacrifices expressly to break through any Egyptian prejudice regarding it, and detach the chosen people still more from their overweening affection for that country and its institutions. In this opinion he has been followed by many able men. Dr. Prichard mentions oblations of wine among those rites, which stand either "in near relation or contradiction to the laws of Egypt;" * and as it cannot certainly enter into the first of these classes, I presume we must consider him of the same opinion as Michaelis. So long as the authority of Herodotus was thus held superior to the concurrent testimonies of other writers, the reply to the objection was necessarily feeble. Accordingly, we find the authors who undertook this reply, either having recourse to conjecture, from the improbability of such a statement, or else supposing a chronological difference of circumstances, and a change of custom between the ages of Moses and Herodotus.

But Egyptian monuments have brought the question to issue, and have of course decided in favor of the Jewish legislator. In the great description of Egypt, published by the French government, after the expedition into that country, M. Costaz describes the minute representation of the vintage in all its parts, as painted in the hypogeæ, or subterraneans of Eilithyia, from the dressing of the vine to the drawing-off of its wine; and

* "Analysis of Egyptian Mythology," p. 422. Guénée, "Lettres de quelques Juifs." *Par.* 1821 tom. i. p. 193

he takes Herodotus severely to task for his denial of the existence of vineyards in Egypt.*

In 1825, this question was mooted once more in the *Journal des Débats*, where a critic, reviewing a new edition of Horace, took occasion to observe that the *vinum mareoticum*, mentioned in the 37th Ode of the first book, could not be an Egyptian wine, but the production of a district in Epirus called Mareotis. This was in the paper of June 26; and on the 2nd and 6th of the following month, Malte-Brun examined the question in the same paper, chiefly in reference to the authority of Herodotus; but his proofs went no further back than the times of Roman and Grecian dominion. M. Jomard, however, took occasion to discuss the point more fully; and in a literary periodical, better suited than a daily paper to such discussions, pushed his inquiries into the times of the Pharaohs. In addition to the painted representations already quoted by Costaz, he appeals to the remains of amphoræ, or wine vessels, found in the ruins of old Egyptian cities, and as yet encrusted with the tartar deposited by wine.† But since Champollion's discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, the question may be considered as quite decided; as it now appears certain, not only that wine was known in Egypt, but that it was used in sacrifices. For, in

* "Description de l'Egypte, Antiquités Mem." tom i. *Par.* 1809, p. 62.

† "Bulletin Universel," 7e section, tom iv. p. 78.

the paintings of offerings, we have, among other gifts, flasks colored red up to the neck, which remains white as if transparent; and beside them is read in hieroglyphics the word EPH, which, in Coptic, signifies wine.*

Rosellini has given, in the plates of his splendid work, representations of every department of a vintage and wine-manufactory. But before this, he had published at Florence an Egyptian basso-rilievo, from the Grand-Ducal gallery, containing a prayer in hieroglyphics, as he supposes, to the goddess Athyr. She is requested to bestow upon the deceased wine, milk, and other good things. These objects are symbolized by vessels supposed to contain them, with their names written in hieroglyphics around them. Round the first are the feather, mouth, and square, the phonetic characters of the letters EPH.† And here I will observe that the learned Schweighäuser, in his observations on Athenæus, appears to doubt the correctness of Casaubon's assertions, that ἔρπις was the Egyptian for wine,‡ though proved clearly from

* "Lettres à M. le Duc de Blacas," 1st Lett. p. 37.

† "Di un basso-rilievo Egiziano della I. e. R. Galleria di Firenze."—*Ib.* 1826, p. 40. Wilkinson has also read the same word, "Materia hieroglyphica," p. 16, note 5.

‡ Athenæus, "Deipnosoph. Epit." lib. ii. tom. i. p. 148, ed. Schweighäuser, has the word ἔρπις in a quotation from Sappho, though, in another passage (lib. x. tom. iv. p. 55.), he reads ὄλπιν. The learned critic seems to have proved that the latter is the correct reading. (Animadv. in Athen. Argentor. 1804, tom. v. p. 375.) This discovery, however, of

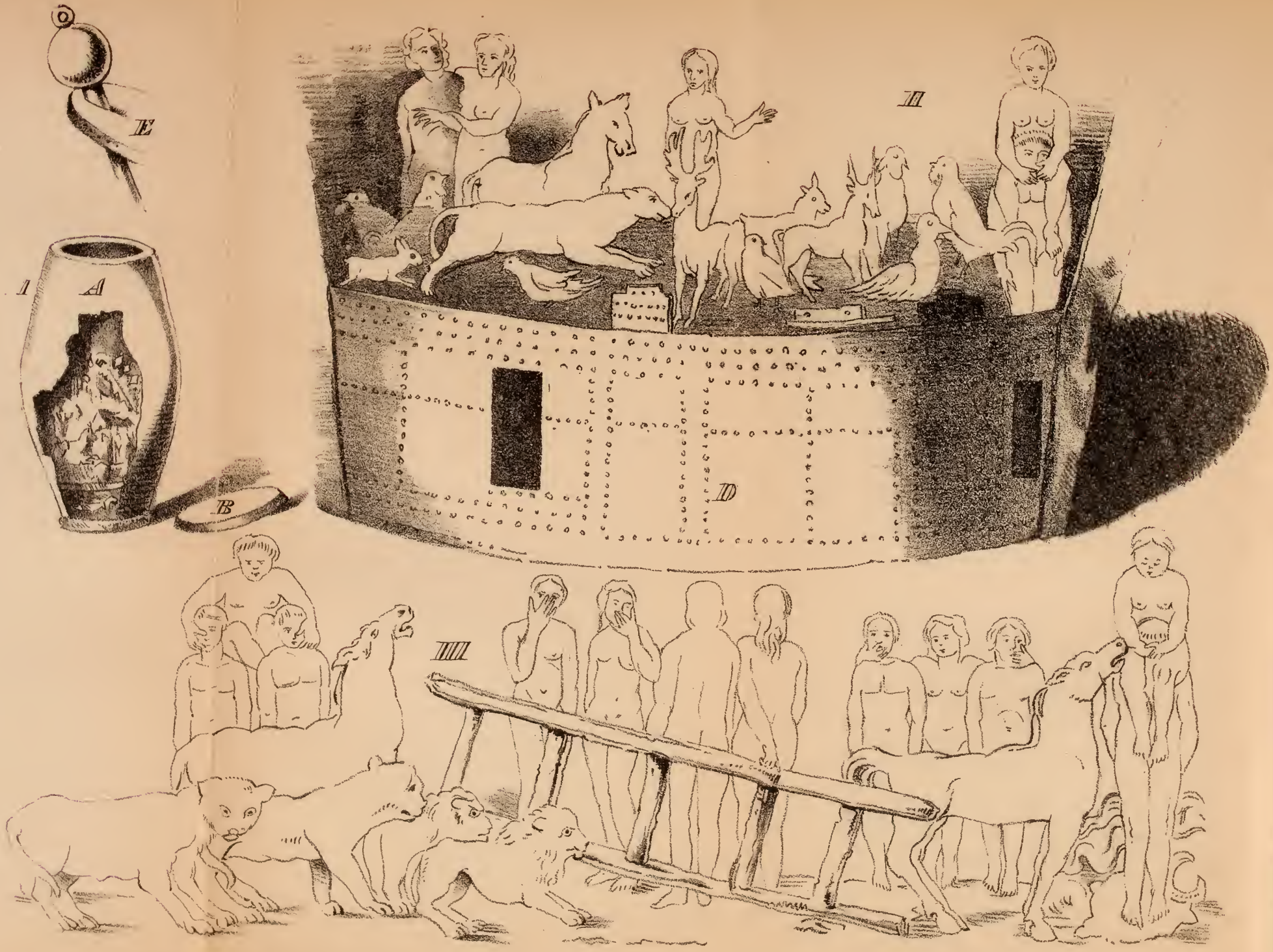
Eustathius and Lycophron. Had he written after this discovery of the word in hieroglyphics, he would doubtless have altered his opinion. And, on the other hand, I doubt not but Champollion and Rosellini would have confirmed their interpretation from those ancient writers, had they been aware of their testimony.

Allow me now to claim your attention to an extremely curious monument, which seems to bear no other explanation but such as we saw given to the Apamean medals; the considering it as commemorative of the deluge. In the year 1696, in excavating a monument in the neighborhood of Rome, a workman found an earthen vase, covered with a tile. In removing this, the cover fell and broke. The workman then drew out a number of seals and amulets, consisting of closed hands, oxen's heads, and olive-berries, all rudely worked in stone. Below these he felt something hard and even; and in his impatience to discover it, broke the vase in two, and not so satisfied, broke it open below; upon which there dropped out a bronze circle, which had fitted exactly into the lower portion of the vase, and a thin plate which evidently had covered it. It had no bottom; but, from the fibres of wood which were found mixed with the earth, it was conjectured that this was originally

the Egyptian name given to wine by ancient writers, in hieroglyphic characters, under the circumstances noticed in the text, must be considered a strong corroboration of the correctness of the phonetic system.

VASE CONTAINING OBJECTS ALLUSIVE TO THE DELUGE.

Plate 2.



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formed of that material. At the same time, there fell out a number of figures which I will presently describe. This curious monument came into the possession of the antiquarian Ficoroni, and a minute account of it was published by Bianchini in the following year.* An engraving accompanies it, very rudely executed; but a later edition of this exists, without date, but stating below that the objects were in the house of the Ab. Giovanni Domenico Pennacchi. From this I have had a copy made, without attending to the imperfect drawing exhibited in both the engravings, which are sufficiently different from each other to show that perfect accuracy of design was not an object in either. You have it before you,† and I proceed to explain it.

The figure is divided into three compartments. The first, on the left hand, represents the vase A, made of earthen-ware of a different quality from ordinary *terra-cottas*, inasmuch as it was mixed up with shining metallic fragments, and bits of marble. In shape it somewhat resembles a small barrel, or the vase represented on the Isiac pomp in the Palazzo Mattei. The figure represents it as it was broken and shows the distribution of the trinkets within at C. Beside it, B is the cover which was found upon it. Passing to the second com-

* "La Storia Universale provata coi Monumenti," pp. 173 *seqq.*

† See Pl. II. prefixed to this volume.

partment, you have the shape and proportion of the lower part of the vase, two-thirds the size of the reality. In the same proportion nearly are the figures distributed in this and the third compartment. D represents the metal circle which lined the lower portion of the vessel, composed of small plates nailed together, as if in imitation of a wooden frame-work. At intervals are windows or open spaces, with shutters over them. There is no door, but to supply this deficiency, there is a bronze ladder of five steps, as if intended to give entrance above. The structure of this metal box seems thus evidently to indicate a desire of representing a building or edifice, probably of wood, not to be entered from the ground. At certain distances, the side is raised higher than the rim of this little chest, like the breast-works of a battlement; two of these elevations appear in the design, these seemed to hold on the cover, which was fastened to them by certain metal pins, one of which, fastened in the cover, is seen at E, in the left division.

The figures consisted of twenty couple of animals,* twelve of quadrupeds, six of birds, one of serpents, and one of insects. There were two other unpaired insects, the fellows of which were probably lost in the excavation. The animals were a lion and lioness, a couple of tigers, horses,

* Bianchini, in his description, says there were nineteen couple; but this does not accord with his enumeration of them in detail.

asses, deer, oxen, wolves, foxes, sheep, hares, and two others not specified. There were, besides, thirty-five human figures, some single, some grouped; but all, with two or three exceptions, showing signs of trying to escape from drowning. The hair of the females is all dishevelled, and they are borne away on the shoulders and backs of the men. In this case they perform the task of closing the mouth and nostrils of their protectors. Single figures do the same for themselves. All are represented as raised to their utmost pitch of stature, and on the right you have a group of three figures standing upon a corpse apparently drowned, as if to add somewhat to their height. The figures were all of exquisite workmanship, indicating a very perfect state of art, with the exception of four, which seem to have been supplied by a much ruder hand. The same may be said of the animals, in which pieces broken or lost seemed to have been supplied in later times. In the description we are nowhere told of what materials the figures were composed. If of bronze, we might compare them to the number of little images of animals, always in pairs, found in Pompeii, of which many may be seen in the museum of Naples. Neither am I aware what has since become of this curious relic.

I will not follow the learned illustrator of this monument into the variety of arguments which he brings to prove that this was a vase used in the festival of the *hydrophoria*, or commemoration of

the deluge. The different amulets are certainly very like what Clement Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and others, have described as placed by the heathens in their mystic baskets; but if the one given in the acts of the Academy of Cortona be correct,* as it seems most probable, this vessel could hardly be considered as belonging to that class of monuments. I must observe that a chain and lock were found close to our vase, as if belonging some way to it.

But be this as it may, it is difficult to give any other explanation of this singular little monument, than what must obviously strike at once, that it alludes to the destruction of the human race, with the exception of a few, who, with pairs of animals, were saved in some species of ark or chest.

In my last lecture, treating of the chronology of Eygpt, as now established by monuments, I mentioned one remarkable synchronism of Shishak and Rehoboam, as given by Rosellini. This king of Egypt is totally omitted by Herodotus and Diodorus, though Manetho mentions him under the name of Sesonchis, as founder of the 22nd dynasty. I mentioned the discovery of several monuments bearing the name of this king as Shishonk. This agreement between the two an-

* "Atti. dell' Academia di Cortona." *Rome,* 1742. tom. i. p. 65; cf. also, the dissertation of Prof. Wunder, "De discrimine verborum *cistæ* et *titellæ*," in his "Variæ Lectiones librorum aliquot M. T. Ciceronis ex cod. Erfut." *Lips.* 1827, pp. clviii. *seqq.*

nals in so definite a manner, makes this point the proper basis of any system of Egyptian chronology, and as such Rosellini takes it. But I reserved for this meeting one monument completely establishing this harmony, and affording, at the same time, one of the most striking confirmations yet discovered of sacred history. This I proceed to lay before you.

The first book of Kings (xiv. 24) and the second of Chronicles (xii. 2) inform us that Shishak, king of Egypt, came against Juda, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, with 1,200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen, and a countless host; that, after taking the fortified places of the country, he approached to besiege Jerusalem; that the king and people humbled themselves before God, and that He, taking pity on them, promised them that He would not destroy them, but still should give them into the invader's hand to be his slaves; "nevertheless they shall be his servants, that they may know my service, and that of the kingdoms of the nations." Shishak therefore came and took the spoil of the temple, and among it the golden shields which Solomon had made.* In the great court of Karnak, the exploits of this mighty conqueror, and restorer of the Egyptian power, are represented at full. We might naturally expect this conquest of Juda to be included among them, the more so as that kingdom

* 2 Chron. xii. 8.

might be considered at its zenith, just after Solomon had overawed all neighboring nations by his splendid magnificence. Let us see if this is so. In the representations at Karnak, Shishak is exhibited, according to an image familiar in Egyptian monuments, as holding by the hair a crowd of kneeling figures heaped together, and with his right hand raised up, ready with one blow of his battle-axe to destroy them all. Besides these, the god Ammon-Ra drives forward towards him a crowd of captives, with their hands tied behind them. If the first group represent those whom he destroyed, the second may well be supposed to contain those whom he only made his servants, or simply overcame, and subjected to tribute. According to the promise made him, the king of Juda was to be in this class, and in it we must look for him. Among the figures of captive kings we accordingly find one, with a physiognomy perfectly Jewish, as Rosellini observes. He has not as yet given the copy of this monument, though he has the legend;* but that you may convince yourselves how truly *unegyptian*, and how completely Hebrew the countenance of this personage is, I have had it exactly copied for you, from the engraving published of it at Paris, by Champollion.† (Pl. III.) The profile, with its beard, is every way Jewish, and to make

* "I monumenti dell' Egitto," Parte i. Monum. stor tom ii. p. 79.

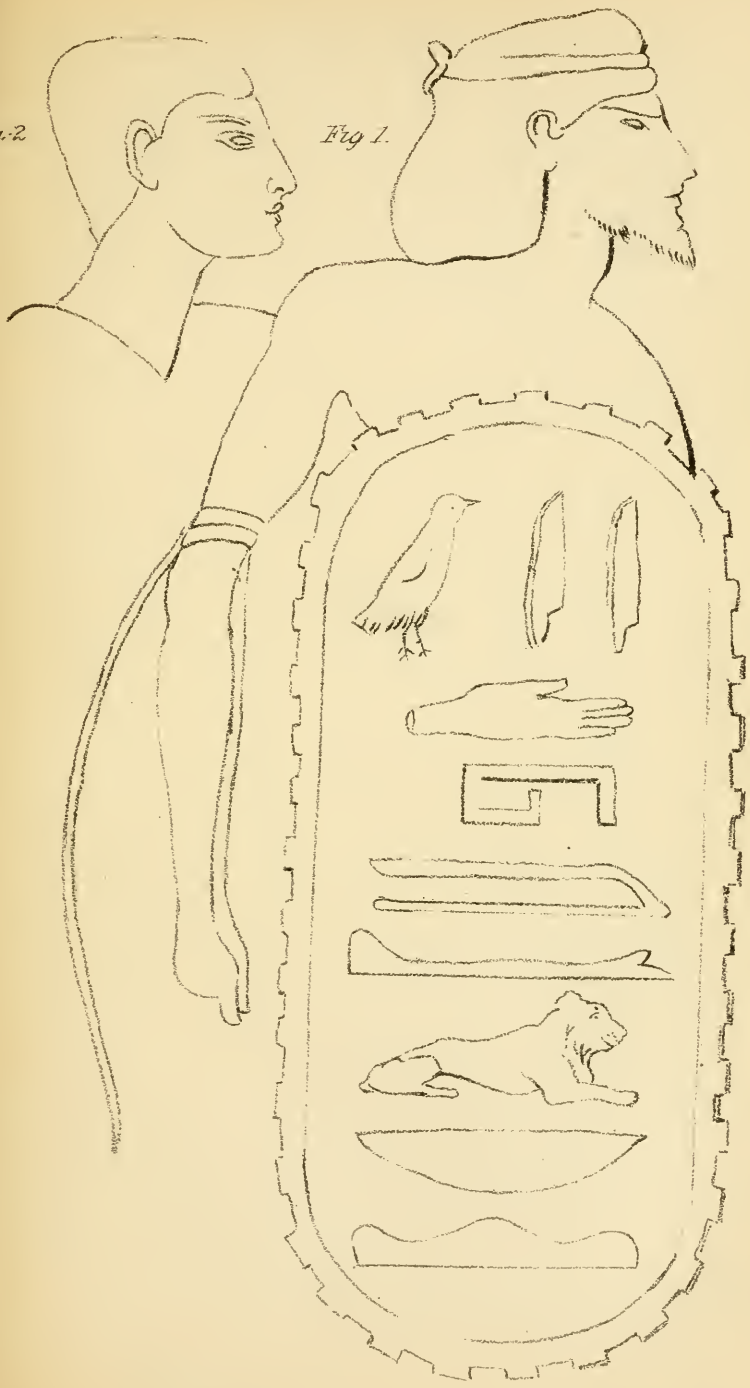
† In his "Lettres écrites d'Egypte."

PLATE III.

MONUMENT OF SHISHAK.

Fig. 2

Fig 1.



Lith. by Kimmel & Voigt 254 & 256 Canal St. N.Y.

this more apparent, I have placed beside it an Egyptian head, quite characteristic of the natural type. Each of these captive monarchs bears a shield, indented as if to represent the fortifications of a city; and on this is written a hieroglyphic legend, which we may suppose to designate who he is. Most, if not all the shields are so far defaced as to be no longer legible, except that borne by our Jewish figure, which remains, as you see it in the drawing. The two feathers are the letters J. E.; the bird OU.; the open hand, D. or T.; thus we have *Jeoud*, the Hebrew for Juda. The next five characters represent the letters, H. A. M. L. K., and supplying the vowels, usually omitted in hieroglyphics, we have the Hebrew word with its article, Hamelek, the king. The last character always stands for the word *Kah*, a country. Thus we have a clear demonstration that this was the king of Juda, treated just as the Scriptures tell us he was, reduced to servitude by Shishak, or Shishonk, king of Egypt. Well may we say, that no monument ever yet discovered gives such new confirmatory evidence to the authenticity of Scripture history. I will close my observations by remarking that Paravey thinks a resemblance clearly discernible between the face of the king of Juda and the received type of our Saviour's countenance, particularly in the lower part; and thus a family likeness would exist between the ancestor and descendant.

Let these examples suffice; for when I remem

ber where we are, in the very heart and citadel of this science, where its great influences are drunk in by every sense, and we ourselves become as it were identified with the recollections of its sacred monuments, I feel as if the detailing of a few insignificant instances of its power to aid our faith must appear almost a needless importunity. There has been one who sat upon the ruins of this city, and was led, by the train of reflections they suggested, to plan that work upon its later history to which I have to-day referred,—

"Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer."

But surely a believing mind must rise from such a meditation with very different feelings, oppressed, indeed, with the whole weight of his natural feebleness, humbled in spirit before the colossal wrecks of matchless grandeur, more than ever sunk into littleness before the memorials of almost superhuman power; but at the same time cheered by other and more consoling thoughts. For even those heathen monuments have many holy recollections; of the three triumphal arches, one records the fulfilment of a great prophecy, the other the triumph of Christianity over heathenism: and the Flavian amphitheatre was once the scene of the martyrs' witnessing. And surely, whatever creed any may profess, he cannot visit, but with soothed and solemn feeling, those many old and venerable churches which stand alone amidst the ruins of ancient buildings, not because they were erected in

solitude, but because, like the insulated cones that rise on the flanks of mountains, the inundations of many ages have washed down around them the less durable masses that enclosed and connected them together. And if he enter some of these, and see them yet retaining all their parts and decorations, even as they were in early times, so unmoved, so unchanged, as if the very atmosphere breathed in them by the ancient Christians had not been disturbed; methinks it were not difficult for you to feel, for some short space, as they did, to wish that all else had suffered as small mutation, and long that religion could once more strike its roots as deeply into our hearts as it did into theirs, and if it produce no more the martyr's palm, put forth at least the olive-branch of peace. And wherever we move among the remains of the ancient city, whether in search of amusement or instruction, there is caught a tone of mind which the most thoughtless cannot escape, essentially subduing of all selfish and particular feelings, an approximation to a religious frame of soul, which shows how necessarily the destruction of all mere earthly power was a preliminary step to the introduction of a more spiritual influence, even as the contemplation of that destruction opens the way to that influence's personal action. And thus may we say that archæology, the study of ruins and of monuments, while it enlightens and delights us, may well form the basis of the strongest religious impressions and individual evidences.

LECTURE THE TENTH;

ORIENTAL STUDIES.

PART I.

SACRED LITERATURE.

Introductory Remarks on the connection of these studies with Religion. Critical Science: Its objects and principles. *Old Testament.*—Houbigant, Michaelis, Kennicott, De Rossi.—Encouragement given by Rome to these studies. *New Testament.*—Anticipations of Freethinkers.—Wetstein, Griesbach. Results: 1. Proof obtained of the purity of the text in general; 2. Authentication of particular passages; 3. Security against future discoveries.—Confutation of an anecdote related by Michaelis and Dr. Marsh. Sacred Philology.—*Hebrew Grammar.*—Its origin among Christians.—Reuchlin and Pellicanus, etc. Application of cognate Dialects, De Dieu, Schultens: Dutch School of Sacred Literature. German School; Michaelis, Storr, Gensenius.—His application of it to invalidate the prophecy of Is. lii. liii.—Confutation of his rule by later Grammarians; Ewald. *Hermeneutical Studies.*—1. Use made of this science to attack the character of the Fathers.—Vindication of them, drawn from the very progress of the study. Winer, Clausen, Rosenmüller.—2. Vindication of old Catholic Commentators by the same advance.—3. Attacks upon Scripture, principally the Prophecies, drawn from the imperfect state of Biblical hermeneutics; the Rationalist School—Return to sound prin-

ciples.—Hengstenberg.—4. Practical application of Philology to the refutation of objections made to the genuineness of Matt. i. ii. from expressions therein used.

The East has already more than once engaged our attention; and assuredly it would be vain to look for collateral evidences of Christianity, or documents confirmatory of its sacred writings, with greater chance of success in any other country than in that which gave it birth. The East bears a character in regard to us and the entire human race which no relative situation can ever alter; to the scholar and philosopher it opens a mine of reflections, sacred and historical, which yields, every time it is further explored, new and exhaustless treasures. It is the womb of nations, not only where the species originally came into being, and was renewed after the deluge, but whence, by a power given to no other portion of the globe, successive races of men have come forth, pushing forward each other as waves to the shore, from the unmoved calm of the ocean. Apparently without the power of giving the last development of intellectual energy to its own inhabitants, it hath so fitted and prepared them that, under proper influences, they have advanced to every possible degree of civilization, of culture, and of power.

For so long as they remain in their native birth-place, as though it were but a nursery wherein their growth is stunted, the nations of Asia appear incapable of rising above a certain degree of moral preëminence While physical life

seems brought to the highest possible perfection; while every luxury which nature has bestowed upon the world is there a gift rather than a production; while the outward vesture of man, his corporal endowments of beauty, agility, strength, and temperate endurance, is dressed out in surpassing excellence; while every institution, of government, of morality, of society, and religion, bears the impress of a sensuous happiness, carried to its highest stretch of gratifying power,—there is a boundary set upon all these qualities, a separation impassable between them and a nobler order of excellence; the civilization there can never give full growth to the spirit's wings, to raise it into the higher regions of pure intellectual enjoyment; the inventive powers are forever supplied by mere contriving skill; the steadiness of rule is replaced by boisterous and transitory conquest, or by stagnant despotism; and civilization stands, age after age, at a dull unvarying level, seldom sinking below, and never rising above an appointed mark.

But this strange contrast between the inhabitants of Asia and those races which, when once issued from it, have shown such marvellous powers of thought and design, is withal a source of great and interesting advantages. For it gives to the former a fixed and unaltering character, which enables the latter to trace back their history and institutions into the remotest ages, and gives connections between the present and the past,

which must otherwise have been effaced, and which afford us now many rich and valuable illustrations of our most sacred monuments. Vain would be the attempt to discover the state of any country in Europe, of Germany for instance, of Britain or of France, two thousand years ago, from such institutions, habits, or appearances as yet remain. Except the great unchangeable features of nature, mountains, seas, and rivers, nothing is there which has not been altered and modified; languages, government, arts, and cultivation, the face of the field, and the countenance of man, all is different, and gives tokens of complicated change. But if we travel to the East it is far otherwise. We find the Chinese just as his oldest literature describes him; we have the wandering Monguls and Turcomans, with their wagon-houses and herds, leading the Scythian's life; we see the Brahman performing the same ablution in the sacred river, going through the same works of painful ceremony, as did the ancient gymnosophists, or rather as is prescribed in his sacred books of earlier date; and still more we discover the Arab drinking at the same wells, traversing the same paths, as did the Jew of old, on his pilgrim journeys; tilling the earth with the same implements and at the same seasons; building his house on the same model, and speaking almost the same language as the ancient possessors of the promised land.

Hence, it follows, that innumerable illustra-

tions of holy writ may be found, at every step, through that blessed country. But, independently of this, there is comprised in that unchanging uniformity of more eastern nations, a tenacious grasp of all great traditions, an earnestness in the preservation of all that records the primeval history of man; and thus is given us, in the present, a test which cannot deceive us, when used to assay what is delivered of the past; a means of connecting links, otherwise irretrievably dispersed, of that chain which continues the history of man's mind, from the first-taught lessons of his childhood to the bolder thoughts of his manlier years.

Having now entered upon that department which more strictly forms my own particular pursuit, and feeling the materials whereof it is composed more immediately under my hand, my principal difficulty to-day, and in my next lecture, will consist in selecting out of innumerable examples a few of more general interest, and in confining myself to such simple outlines of things capable of much higher finish, as may be easily retained. And I will divide my subject into two portions, treating to-day of sacred, and at our next meeting of profane, Oriental literature.

The portion of my task which I have allotted to this day, I shall divide under the two heads of critical and philological pursuits. For, to preserve some measure of proportion between this and our next entertainment, I must place under the head

of profane studies such antiquarian illustrations as are drawn from uninspired sources. The subject of this day's lecture will wholly consist of such studies as have the Scriptural text alone in view.

Of all these pursuits, critical science may be justly considered the very foundation. For, if the understanding the words of Scripture aright, necessarily form the groundwork of all true interpretation, the reading of them correctly must be a preliminary step to that accurate understanding. Now, the science of sacred criticism undertakes this office. First, it investigates what are the true words of any single text, it examines all the varieties which may exist therein; and, weighing the arguments in favor of each, decides which reading the commentator or translator should prefer. But then it goes further, and generalizes its results, by inquiring into the correctness of the entire sacred volume, after the revolutions of so many ages.

The influence of this study upon the Christian evidences is manifestly very great. For, as to its particular application, very much may be gained or lost, by a word or a syllable. The application to Christ of the beautiful prophecy, Ps. xxii. 16, "They pierced my hands and feet," is disputed by the Jews, and by all theologians of the rationalist school; and the dispute turns entirely upon the reading of the words. For, the present reading of the Hebrew text gives a totally different meaning to the passage, that is, "as a lion are my

hands and feet;" and innumerable are the disquisitions published upon the true reading of the text. In the New Testament, it is singular that the most important passage affecting the Socinian controversy should be in the same condition, and form the subject of the most complicated critical investigations. I hardly need mention the endless dispute, whether the celebrated verse of the Three Witnesses, 1 John v. 7, be a part of the original text, or a later interpolation. But besides this, another most important passage, bearing upon the same dogma, is in a still more curious position. This is 1 Tim. iii. 16, where a serious dispute exists, whether we should read, "God appeared in the flesh," or "*who* appeared in the flesh;" and this dispute has been not only contested with the pen, but has literally been made the object of microscopic investigation. For it turns upon this: whether the word in the most celebrated manuscripts be OC, *who*, or ΘC., the abbreviation for Θεος, God. Now, the pronoun and the abbreviation are the same, excepting in the transverse stroke which passes through the Θ, distinguishes it from the O, and in the line drawn over it, as a sign of abbreviation. Some, for instance, assert, that in the celebrated Alexandrian manuscript in the British Museum, these lines are added by a later hand; all agree that they have been most imprudently retouched. Others have maintained that some remnants of the original stroke might be seen in a strong light, with the

aid of a good lens; and their opponents again rejoin that it was only the transverse stroke of a letter on the other side of the page, which appeared through the vellum, when raised to the sun.* In fine, this dispute has been continued, and the passage positively handled, till strokes and letters, retouchings and originals, have been equally cancelled, and the decision for posterity must rest on what judgment it can form from so many conflicting testimonies. A similar variety of opinion exists regarding the passage in another most celebrated Paris manuscript, called the "Codex Ephrem;" Woide, Griesbach, and Less examined it, yet could not ascertain which is its true reading.

But the great and most important office of this study, particularly in connection with the object of these lectures, consists in giving us the means of deciding how far the text of Scripture, as we now possess it, is free from essential alterations, and corruptions; and consequently, in removing all our anxiety and uneasiness regarding its interpretation. And to show how far it has been successful in its researches, I will briefly sketch out the history of the science as exercised upon the text of both Old and New Testaments.

I need not say that, from the earliest ages of the Church, the necessity of having correct texts, and the duty of taking pains to procure them were

* See Woide, "Notitia Cod. Alexandrini." *Lips.* 1788, p. 172, § lxxxvii.

fully admitted;* with this difference, that, as the language of the Old Testament was little known to Christians, their labors were chiefly directed to the perfecting of their versions. Origen, Eusebius, Lucian, and other learned Greeks, dedicated their talents to this object, purged the Septuagint version of the errors which had gradually crept into it, and produced different texts, yet discernible in the different MSS. of that translation. In the West, St. Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Alcuin, took no less pains with the Latin version. But all the ecclesiastical writers who, besides those already enumerated, occupied themselves with critical subjects, particularly St. Augustine, and Ven. Bede, repeatedly acknowledged the necessity of having recourse to the originals and endeavoring, as far as possible, to procure a correct text.†

When the study of Hebrew began to be more cultivated among Christians, and the invention of printing made its text accessible to all, there sprang up an important controversy upon its accuracy. In many most important passages, as the one I have cited from Ps. xxii, it was found to differ from the versions then in use; and suspicions were raised

* "Codicibus emendandis primitus debet invigilare solertia eorum qui Scripturas nosse desiderant." St. Aug. "De Doctrina Christiana," lib. ii. cap. 14. tom. iii. pa. i. p. 27, ed. Maur.

† "Ubi cum ex adverso audieris proba, non confugias ad exempla veriora, vel plurium codicum vel antiquorum, vel linguæ præcedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum est." Adv. Faust. lib. x, cap. 2, tom. viii. p. 219.

against the Jews, who had so long monopolized it, as though they had taken advantage of that circumstance, to alter and strangely corrupt the original text, in divers places. Hence, many assumed that the versions were to be preferred to the original; others of more moderate principles, that this was at least to be corrected by them. But, even before critical studies had received their full development, or been reduced to principles which in every science must follow, not precede observation, the accurate examination of almost every psssage quoted in support of these opinions was found to lead to their confutation: and the Jews were proved upon incontestible evidence to have preserved the sacred volume free from all intentional alteration. Such is the judgment which all now agree in pronouncing on the animated folio controversies between Cappellus and the Buxtorfs.

Still there were many who were not convinced; and their obstinacy led to the most important step in this branch of sacred literature, to laying the foundation of all satisfactory critical investigation, by the collection of various readings from the examination of MSS., various, and ancient quotations. Such at least was the motive which excited the industry of F. Houbigant. He fancied that the Hebrew text was essentially corrupt; and therefore attempted, in 1753, to publish it in four splendid folios, purged of its errors, and restored to its original purity, by the examination of several manuscripts in the libraries of Paris, and

by the comparison of the oldest versions. Rash as were at once his theories and their application, no alarm was felt by the friends of religion, lest they might lead to any serious consequence,—no obstacles were thrown in his way by his ecclesiastical superiors, and the Pope sent him a splendid gold medal as a testimony of approbation for his industry and zeal.*

This same path was, however, pursued upon higher and better motives by other learned men. John Henry Michaelis, whose reputation has been unjustly much eclipsed by that of his nephew, published in 1720, after thirty years' incessant labor, an edition of the Bible, with notes, in which, among other valuable matter, are given the varieties discoverable in three manuscripts preserved at Erfurt. Our own country, however, has the merit of producing the greatest and most valuable work on this important science, the one to which all later researches must necessarily be attached as supplements and appendixes. The learned Benjamin Kennicott occupied more than ten years in preparing the materials for his great critical Bible, which issued from the Clarendon Press in 1776 and 1780. For this purpose he did not content himself with collating all the manuscripts in England, but extended his researches over all the continent, and everywhere received the most liberal encouragement. The results of his labors, and every inter-

* See Orme's "Bibliotheca Biblica:" Art Houbigant.

esting discovery which they made, he communicated to the public every year in an annual report, which kept alive the interest of the learned, from the first announcement, to the completion of his herculean work.

Nothing has been more common than to charge us who dwell in Rome, and particularly those who have authority here, with discouraging all critical research, especially in sacred literature, and with throwing every obstacle in the way of those who cultivate it. I shall have to advert, a little later, to a specific charge of this nature; but the conduct and feeling manifested in Rome towards Kennicott and his undertaking, affords sufficient proof of how groundless are such accusations. He himself tells us, that the first place which gave him encouragement, and offered him assistance, was Rome; and he gave us the following letter, written to him by Cardinal Passionei, librarian to the Vatican, dated May 16, 1761, and entitled by him, "The Roman Testimonial."

"The undertaking of a new edition of the Bible to be made at Oxford upon all the Hebrew MSS. existing in the most celebrated libraries, has here met as many approvers as persons who have heard it mentioned. And to favor the author of so important a work, I have permitted with pleasure the collation of the ancient Hebrew MSS. existing in the Vatican Library, and I have granted it officially as Librarian of the Holy Roman Church."*

* Kennic. Vet. Test. Pref. p. viii.

In 1772, F. Fabricy, a Dominican, published in Rome two very large volumes, directed almost entirely to prove the great benefit which religion must receive from a free and complete examination of the critical state of our present Hebrew text such as was promised by Kennicott. "What must chiefly interest us," he says, "is, that it will infallibly give religion powerful arms to confound a fundamental error of the impious and the libertine, on the actual state of our Hebrew text. From the inspection of Heb. MSS. compared with our common text, and with the most ancient versions, an interesting fact must result, the assurance of our divine Scripture being essentially incorrupt. We cannot give a better confutation of their hypothesis, who call themselves philosophers in our days, and who refuse credit to the sacred books, on the pretence that the originals of Scripture are essentially corrupt, and are now in extreme confusion and disorder."*

It was only, indeed, by the existence of such kind encouragement, that the next and last laborer in this field could have accomplished his extraordinary undertaking. This was John Bernard de Rossi, a poor and modest professor of Parma. In an interesting account of his labors, which he published shortly before his death, he considers himself only a humble instrument in the hands of

* "Des Titres primitifs de la Révélation," tom. prem. p. 3. See tom. ii. pp. 362, 373, 521, etc.

divine Providence, for the work which occupied his life, the collection of manuscripts and rare editions of the Hebrew text. Without fortune, influence, or connections he dedicated himself to this task; he devoted to it all his little means: he employed every art to overcome the repugnance which the Jews had to part with their written records; and by his steady, undeviating attention to one great and religious object, succeeded in his design beyond his most sanguine expectation. Kennicott, through the whole of Europe, had only been able to collate 581 Hebrew manuscripts; nor does any public library in England, or on the continent, possess more than fifty such documents. In 1784, De Rossi published the first volume of his various readings, as supplementary to Kennicott's collection, and in it he gives the catalogue of 479 manuscripts in his own possession. Before the completion of the fourth volume in 1788, his collection had increased to 612; and in 1808 he published a supplementary volume, in which 68 new manuscripts are described, making in all 680 Hebrew manuscripts. As he went on amassing till his death, a few years ago, this invaluable collection is now much greater. Every temptation was held out to this worthy ecclesiastic to part with his literary treasure. The Emperor of Russia offered him an enormous price; but he replied that it should never go out of Italy. Pius VI. had before proposed to purchase it, and the thought of having his library united to that of the Vatican, perhaps

tried him more keenly than gold; but he preferred accepting a trifling compensation for himself and his niece from his own sovereign, and bequeathed it to the library of his native city. With the valuable labors of this humble, but enterprising individual, the history of this department of sacred criticism may be said to close; its results we shall see united to those of the other more interesting branch—the critical examination of the New Testament.

Very early after the first publication of this sacred collection, it became the custom to examine the manuscripts of it, which abounded in every library, though with no great accuracy, and on no uniform plan. It was not till the great edition of Mill, in 1707, which condensed all the labors of his predecessors, corrected their errors, and greatly increased their stores, that sacred criticism could be said to have assumed a systematic form. After him the task of collecting rapidly advanced, and successive critical editions occupied the attention of the learned, through the whole of the eighteenth century. That of Wetstein, in 1751 and 1752, far eclipsed all that had gone before; but he, as well as they, has yielded the preëminence which he long enjoyed to the great reformer of the science, John James Griesbach. To him we owe the leading principles which have swayed it ever since, almost with an iron rule.

It was chiefly with reference to this branch of critica. science that the interest of the learned,

and of theologians in particular, was much excited. For it was chiefly here that the opposers of religion, or of its most essential dogmas, had hoped for something useful to their cause. It had been anticipated, indeed, that some various reading would probably be discovered more favorable to Socinian opinions; and, at any rate, many believed that such an uncertainty would arise concerning the entire text, such difficulty of choice between conflicting readings, as would unsettle all belief, and utterly destroy the authority of Scripture as a guide to truth. Such was the view taken of the critical labors of Mill and others, by the celebrated Anthony Collins, in his "Discourse on Freethinking." He took advantage of the differences between Mill and Whitby, about some passages, and about the value of various readings in general, to conclude that the entire New Testament was thereby rendered doubtful. He was soon, however, chastised by the heavy lash of Bentley, who, in his disguise of Philelcutherus Lipsiensis, thoroughly exposed the folly of Collins's assertions, and vindicated the condition of the inspired text.

And, in fact, we may well inquire, what has been the result, of this laborious and acute research,—of this toilsome collation of manuscripts of every age, of the many theories for classifying critical documents; in fine, of all the years which able and learned men have dedicated to the zealous task of amending and perfecting the sacred book? Why truly, if we exclude the great and

important conclusions which we have at present in view, the result is so trifling, that we should say there had been much unthrifty squandering of time and talents thereupon. Not indeed that there has been lack of abundant differences of readings; on the contrary, the number is overpowering. Mill's first effort produced 30,000, and the number may be said daily to increase. But in all this mass, although every attainable source has been exhausted; although the fathers of every age have been gleaned for their readings; although the versions of every nation, Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Ethiopian, have been ransacked for their renderings; although manuscripts of every age from the sixteenth upwards to the third, and of every country, have been again and again visited by industrious swarms to rifle them of their treasures; although, having exhausted the stores of the West, critics have travelled like naturalists into distant lands to discover new specimens,—have visited, like Scholz or Sebastiani, the recesses of Mount Athos, or the unexplored libraries of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts—yet has nothing been discovered, no not one single various reading, which can throw doubt upon any passage before considered certain or decisive in favor of any important doctrine. For in the instances which I before quoted, as 1 Tim. iii. 16, the doubt existed already from the variety found in the ancient versions. These various readings, almost without an exception, leave un-

touched the essential parts of any sentence, and only interfere with points of secondary importance, the insertion or omission of an article or conjunction, the more accurate grammatical construction, or the forms rather than the substance of words. For instance, the first verse of St. John's Gospel had been the subject of various critical conjectures, with a view of destroying its force in proving the divinity of Christ. One author had maintained that the reading should be in the genitive, "and the Word was of God;" another that the sentence should be differently pointed, and that we should read, "and God was," leaving "the Word" to be joined to the next period. Now, after examining all the evidence within the reach of unexampled industry, exercised by men noways unfavorable to the cause supported by those conjectures, what discoveries have been made in this passage? Several various readings, to be sure; such as Clement of Alexandria's having once, "the Word was *in* God," instead of *with* God; one manuscript, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, reading the word *God* with an article, "was *the* God." These are the only variations found in the text, while the great doctrine which it contains, remains perfectly untouched, and the presumptuous conjectures of Photinus, Crellius, and Bardht, are proved to be frivolous and ungrounded.

In fact, if we look through the new text published by Griesbach, the first critic who ventured to insert a new reading into the received text, and

see, as we may in a moment from the difference of type, how few are the instances where the great quantity of documents which he consulted suggested to him any improvement, we cannot but be surprised at the accuracy of our ordinary text, formed as it was, without selection, from the first manuscripts that came to hand after the invention of printing; or rather we must feel great satisfaction at the small difference between the best and the most inferior manuscripts, and consequently at the consoling manner in which the integrity of the inspired records has been preserved.

So completely did this result disappoint the expectations of those who opposed religion, that we are told by a celebrated scholar of the last century, that they began to think less favorably of that species of criticism which they at first so highly recommended, in the hope of its leading to discoveries more suitable to their maxims than the ancient system.*

This result is precisely the same as has been obtained from the critical study of the Old Testament. It has been acknowledged by the learned Eichhorn, that Kennicott's various readings hardly present any of consequence, or sufficiently interesting to repay the labor bestowed on their collection.† Even within these few years we have had a new and striking confirmation of

* Michaelis, tom. ii. p. 266.

† "Einleitung," ii. Th. S. 700, ed. *Leipzig*, 1824.

this result. Dr. Buchanan, in 1806, procured and brought to Europe a Hebrew manuscript used by the black Jews, settled from time immemorial in India, where they had for ages been cut off from all communication with their brethren in other parts of the world. It is a fragment of an immense roll, which, when complete, must have been about ninety feet long. Even as it now is, it is made up of pieces written by different persons, at different epochs, and contains a considerable portion of the Pentateuch. It is written on skins dyed red. An interesting collation of this MS. has been made and published by Mr. Yeates; and the result is, that, comparing it with the edition of Van der Hooght, considered always as the standard edition in such collations, it presents not more than *forty* various readings, not one of which is in the least important, for the most part affecting letters, such as *jod* or *vau* which may be inserted or omitted with perfect indifference. Indeed, comparing it with other printed and very correct editions, this number is considerably reduced. The collator well observes, that here we have "specimens of at least three ancient copies of the Pentateuch, whose testimony is found to unite in the integrity and pure conservation of the sacred text, acknowledged by Christians and Jews in these parts of the world."*

But, once more returning to the New Testa-

* "Collation of an Indian Copy of the Pentateuch," p. 8

ment, and the critical attention paid to its text, the advantages which this has procured us are far from stopping at the assurance that nothing has been yet discovered which could shake our belief in the purity of our sacred books. This advantage was but the first step gained by it in the earliest labors of Mill and Wetstein. The critic, with whose name I closed my list, went much further; he gave us, in addition, a security for the future. His great theory of the classification of manuscripts, was, however, first suggested by an amiable and profound scholar, John Albert Bengel. This learned man is a noble model of the principles in action which I have been striving to inculcate through this course of lectures. He was perplexed by the quantity of various readings discovered in the New Testament, and feared that, by them, all security in its correctness was essentially destroyed. He had no one to consult; he feared to open the state of his mind: and with an uprightness and a courage which do him honor, he resolved to face every difficulty, to dedicate himself to critical inquiries, and to find, in the science itself that suggested them, the solution of his scruples. The result was what might have been anticipated—his own individual conviction of the purity of the text, and the simplification of the inquiry to all who might find themselves in a similar position. He soon observed, that it was lost labor to count manuscripts upon any passage; for a great num

ber of them always herded together, so that when you knew how one read, you might consider it a type or representative of many more, which belonged, as it were, to the same family. Thus he suggested, that if you found upon any text one celebrated old manuscript, agreeing with any very ancient version, you might safely consider their joint reading as certain.

This, however, was but a rude germ of the system discovered and introduced by Griesbach. He found, by a long and diligent research, that all known manuscripts are divided into three classes, to which he has given the name of *Recensions*, because he supposes them to have been produced by corrected editions of the text in different countries; and he, consequently, gives them the titles of the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Byzantine Recensions. Every known manuscript belongs to one of these classes; and though it may occasionally depart from its type, it accords with it on the whole. The consequence of this arrangement is obvious. We no longer speak of twenty manuscripts being in favor of one reading, and as many on the other side, nor think of examining their individual value, nor have we to weigh numbers against intrinsic worth, and decide between them. Individual manuscripts have now no value; but we only decide between families. If two families agree, their joint reading is probably correct; if they are so blended together that manuscripts of all fam-

ilies are confusedly mixed on both sides, the question cannot be decided. But here we have a security against the discovery of any future documents. For, if any manuscript, however venerable and precious, were to be discovered, it must enter into the ranks, and submit to be classified with one of the families, whose weight it might increase, while it lost all individual authority; and thus it could noways disturb our security. And if it presented such anomalies as would exclude it from them all, and prevent its classification, it must be considered a vagrant and outlaw, and could no more derange the system than a comet cutting through the orbits of the planets could be said to disturb their order, by refusing to come into their arrangement.

This great and important step in the critical study of the New Testament has received important modifications, all tending to simplify it further. Nolan, Hug, Scholz, and many others, have proposed various arrangements, and distributions of manuscripts; but they have gone little further than varying the names and numbers of the classes; the principles they have preserved entire. Scholz, indeed, may be said to have proposed the most important change. After travelling all over Europe, and a great part of the East, to collate manuscripts, he published in 1830 the first volume of a new critical edition; in the preface to which he reduces the families to two, thus rendering the application of Griesbach's principle still more at-

tainable. By a letter which I lately received from him, I learned that the second volume is now in the press.

Thus, may we say, that critical science has not only overthrown every objection drawn from documents already in our possession, but has given us full security against any that may be yet discovered; and has, at the same time, placed in our hands simple and easy canons, or rules for deciding complicated points of difference. And these results will be still more within our reach when a new edition, now preparing, shall have appeared, in which only select readings, examined with great care, and given with great accuracy, shall have been completed.

Besides these general advantages, we may moreover say, that many particular passages, over which a cloud of doubt before hung, have been cleared of their difficulty, and fully secured. For instance, the eleven last verses of St. Mark, containing very important and interesting matter, had been doubted of by many critics; and the same may be said of Luke xxii. 43–45, wherein the account is given of our Saviour's bloody sweat in the garden. Now, the progress of critical research has so completely placed these two passages on a level with every other part of the New Testament, that it is quite impossible they can ever again be called in question.

There is an anecdote connected with this science, to which I before alluded, and which it

would be unjust not to inquire into before concluding it. The Vatican library possesses, as all of you must be aware, the most valuable manuscript of the Septuagint version, and the New Testament, now in existence. It is known by the name of the Codex Vaticanus, and was published in 1587, by order of Pope Sixtus V. Michaelis, and his annotator, Dr. Marsh, has informed us, upon the authority of Adler, that in 1783 the Abbate Spaletti, or, as they call him, Spoletti, applied to Pope Pius VI. for permission to publish a fac-simile of the entire manuscript upon the same plan as the Anacreon which he had printed; that the Pope was favorable to the scheme, but "referred the matter, according to the usual routine, to the Inquisition, with the order that F. Mamachi, the *magister sacri palatii*, should be consulted in particular; whose ignorance, and its usual attendant a spirit of intolerance, induced him to persuade the Pope to prevent the execution of the plan under the pretence that the Codex Vaticanus differed from the Vulgate, and might therefore, if made known to the public, be prejudicial to the interests of the Christian Religion." A second memorial was presented to the Pope, "but the powers of the Inquisition prevailed against arguments, which had no other support than sound reason." De Rossi, in a letter to Michaelis, answered this accusation against the character of his patron, the Pope; but Dr. Marsh replies, that "this at least is certain, that no public permission

was ever given to Spoletti, though he repeatedly asked it; he was therefore obliged to abandon the design, since the private indulgence of the Pope would have been no security against the vengeance of the Inquisition."* It is really a pity to see such a tissue of misrepresentations as are here strung together, repeated by writers of authority, from whom they are, of course, copied into popular works, become universally current. Mr. Horne, naturally, has not overlooked it.†

When I first read this story some years ago, I lost no time in examining its accuracy. The leading fact is indeed true, that the Abbate Spaletti applied for permission to publish a fac-simile of that immense manuscript; and, doubtless, had he applied for permission only, it would have been soon obtained. But, unluckily, his demand was, that he should publish it at the expense of the government; and this was the sole ground of refusal. This I was told by one who had known Spaletti intimately, and was acquainted with the whole transaction, and had no idea that any different account, or, indeed, any account of it at all, had been ever published.‡ It would have been a pity, he added, if Spaletti had been allowed; for he was but a superficial scholar, and merely desired to undertake this immense task as a good

* Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 181; part. ii. p. 644.

† Vol. ii. p. 125.

‡ The late Canonico Baldi, sotto-custode of the Vatican Library.

speculation. When we consider that it required the interference of Parliament, and its engagement to pay all expenses, before Mr. Baber's facsimile of the Alexandrian manuscript of the *Old* Testament alone could be undertaken; and that, even then, on account of the enormous expense, only 250 copies have been printed, we surely have reason enough for the government here declining the extravagant outlay necessary for carrying Spaletti's projects into execution. Besides this leading incorrectness, there are others of minor importance in the anecdote. The Inquisition could not have been ever referred to, according to the "ordinary routine," as Dr. Marsh expresses it; for to any one acquainted with the course of business here, such an assertion sounds as probable as if some foreigner were to state, that Mr. Baber's proposal to publish the Alexandrian manuscript was referred, according to "the usual routine," to the Horse-Guards, or the Board of Control. Nor, in fact, was it ever referred to the Inquisition at all. So far from any misunderstanding having ever existed between Spaletti and the members of that office, he continued to the end of his life to spend all his Sunday mornings in their society, within the walls of that dreadful tribunal. Nor can I pass over the learned Bishop of Peterborough, speaking of the *ignorant* Mamachi; a man who holds a place among the illustrators of ecclesiastical antiquity second to none, and whose works will fortunately last as long, at least, as this aspersion

on his memory. However, Dr. Marsh himself affords the best confutation of the motive attributed to this *ignorant* clergyman, who surely knew that the Vatican manuscript had been published nearly two centuries before, when he tells us that Dr. Holmes found no obstacles in the way of collating the manuscripts of the Vatican for his edition of the Septuagint.* And, in fact, Spaletti was employed among others in making it, and the very manuscript in question was one of those examined.

When Monsignor Mai, lately librarian of the Vatican, suggested to Leo XII. the propriety of publishing the New Testament of the Codex Vaticanus, his Holiness replied, that he would wish the whole, including the Old, to be accurately printed. Upon this, the learned prelate undertook the task, and advanced as far as St. Mark's gospel. Not satisfied with the execution of the work, he has since recommenced it on a different plan. The New Testament is finished, and the Old considerably advanced. This publication will be the most satisfactory proof how little apprehension is felt in Rome of any "injury to the Christian religion" from the critical study of the Holy Scriptures.

* The collation of this manuscript was interrupted by the French revolution. Why it was not resumed after the restoration of the Codex, the officers of the library were at a loss to discover. Surely a critical edition of the Septuagint in which a collation of the best and oldest manuscript is wanting, labors under an essential defect.

But, to conclude this last portion of my task, we have thus seen this science run precisely the same course as so many others; afford, in its imperfect state, some ground of objection to free-thinkers against the basis of Christian revelation, and then, by pursuing its own natural direction without fear, not only overthrow all the difficulties which it had first raised, but replace them by such new and satisfactory assurances, as no further inquiry can possibly weaken or destroy.

After the text has been settled by critical research, the next task is to interpret. This is primarily the province of philology, which examines the signification of the words whether singly, or combined in phrases, and, by deciding on their value, arrives at the sense of entire sentences and paragraphs. Now, the different parts of this study, strange as it may seem, have been progressive, and their progress has uniformly tended to the vindication of Scripture, and the confirmation of the evidences. Grammar is necessarily the basis of all study which has words for its object: and I commence with it.

You will perhaps be inclined to smile when I speak of the grammar of a language dead two thousand years, as in a state of progress and improvement. You will doubtless be no less tempted to incredulity, when I assert that its progress has even slightly added to our security in essential doctrines. And yet both assertions are really true. For the sake of such as may feel

an interest in such researches, I will sketch you an outline of its history, and then exemplify the useful and important applications to which it may be directed.

The grammar of the Hebrew language naturally originated with the Jews; nor did any Christian, in modern times, commence its study, until it had received from them all that perfection which their defective methods could bestow on it. Still the study among us may be said to have been conducted upon independent grounds. Elias Levita was employed in giving to the grammatical researches of the Kimchis all the improvements which they were ever to receive from writers of his nation, when Conrad Pellicanus, in 1503, and Reuchlin, three years later, published the first rudiments of Hebrew intended for Christian education. The former, a monk at Tübingen, had made himself acquainted with the language at the age of twenty-two, with no other help than a Latin Bible; and embodied, consequently, in his grammar, only such imperfect elements as he had thus gleaned. Reuchlin took lessons at Rome, from a Jew, at the extravagant price of a golden crown an hour; and to him we are indebted for most of the grammatical terms now used in the study of the sacred language. Sebastian Münster, a scholar of Elias, soon eclipsed his predecessors; and his labors, which were copied almost entirely from the Rabbins, yielded, in their turn, to the more

comprehensive and more lucid method of the elder Buxtorf. Nor were grammatical researches wanting in other parts of Europe besides Germany. Santes Pagnini in Italy, and Chevalier in France, published introductions to the study of the sacred language. This may be styled the first period of Hebrew grammar among Christians, a period ending with the middle of the seventeenth century.* Its characteristics are those of the Jewish school, from which it sprang, a minute attention to the complicated changes of letters and vowel-points, and to the derivation and formation of nouns; while the general structure of the language is in a great measure overlooked. Besides Buxtorf, one other honorable exception must however be made. Solomon Glass, whose *Philologia Sacra*, especially in the improved edition of Dathe, should never be absent from the table of the biblical student, collected a treasure of syntactical remarks, which, besides their utility for Hebrew grammar, had the merit of first bringing the language of the New Testament into relation with the Old.

While the study of Hebrew grammar was thus slowly advancing, the cognate Semitic dialects, then known by the general name of the Oriental languages, were cultivated with considerable attention. At the period which, after Gensenius, I have

* Gensenius, "Geschichte der hebraischen Sprache und Schrift." *Leipzig*, 1825, pp. 101, 107.

assigned to the termination of the first Christian school, the study of them began to exercise an influence on Hebrew grammar, and thus marked the commencement of a second epoch. Louis De Dieu, in 1628, first published a comparative grammar of Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac. He was followed by Hottinger (1649), and Sennert (1653), who added the Arabic to the languages previously compared. The celebrated polyglot lexicon of Castell, in its prolegomena, further contributed the Ethiopic, or Abyssinian.

This was a new and important instrument for the study of Hebrew grammar; but the syntax of these kindred languages was itself imperfectly developed, and the application of them was therefore principally confined to the declensions and conjugations. At the beginning of the last century, a more extensive application of one branch at least of this comparative philology was introduced by the learned and sagacious Albert Schultens. Deeply versed in Arabic literature, and having at command a treasure of oriental manuscripts in the Leyden library, he devoted most of his life to the illustration of Hebrew philology from these new sources. Great as his merits are, his devotion to the system which he was the first to introduce, necessarily led him too far. He sacrificed the advantages, which a comparison with all the kindred dialects affords, to his predilection for one. He went further still; for he often neglects the peculiar structure and

idiomatic uses of the Hebrew language for a parallelism, however faint, with Arabic.*

He was the founder of what is called the Dutch school in Hebrew philology. As might be expected, many of his scholars copied the faults of their master, though a few, more judicious, were careful to avoid them. While rash Arabisms, as they were called, and forced etymologies, disfigure the works of Venema, Lette, and Scheid, others, like Schröder, have brought a more chastened judgment to the study of grammar. The *institutions* of this judicious author,† was for many years the standard work in Germany, and is, I believe, as yet considerably used, and deservedly esteemed in England. His syntax is copious and accurate, and may be reckoned the best substitute by those who have not access to the larger German works of Gesenius and Ewald.

While the Dutch school was in its perfection, the Germans were laying the foundation of that system which, though not matured so early, was the only true and solid method of proceeding. This consisted in not attempting to reach at once a full and comprehensive system of grammar, but in illustrating particular points, either from the cognate dialects, or by a collation of numerous passages in the Bible itself. Christian Benedict Michaelis lauda-

* *Ib.* p. 128.

† "Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguæ Hapraicæ." The last German ed. *Ulm*, 1792. It was reprinted at Glasgow in 1824.

bly attended to both methods; Simonis, Storr, and numerous others, contributed valuable observations towards methodizing the Hebrew syntax, and its analogies. Materials were thus accumulated at the commencement of this century, which only required a learned, judicious, and patient investigator to arrange, discuss, and complete them.

From the first school, the modern one differs, much in the same manner as the tactics of the present day do from those of ancient times. As these trained the phalanx, or legion, through a maze of manœuvres which depended chiefly upon the exact movements and positions of individuals, so the whole system of ancient grammar depended upon the minute changes which occurred in every single word, upon the complicated evolutions of each point, its advance, its retreat, or its charge. The modern grammarian, on the other hand, neglects not indeed these minor movements, but bestows his greatest attention on the co-ordination of the parts of speech, on the force of the particles in every varied circumstance, on the different powers of peculiar forms of words, and on the mutual dependence of the lesser and greater members of the sentence;—he looks mainly to more extensive combinations, and more important effects.

The first school, however, used one advantage, which its successor neglected or despised, the Rabbinical grammarians. All, indeed, at the beginning, was Jewish, whether in grammar or in lexi

cography; while, during the following period, the Rabbins were discarded in both. Forster (1557) published his lexicon, "non ex Rabbinorum commentis nec nostratum Doctorum stulta imitatione;" and Masclef determined to purge Hebrew grammar of the points, "aliisque inventis Masorethicis." I know not whether his followers consider the existence of syntax and construction in Hebrew as a Rabbinical invention; but those grammars which treat of the language without points, generally unshackle it no less of grammatical ties, and thus represent the language of inspiration as a speech, wherein almost every word is vague and indeterminate, and every sentence devoid of rule and fixed construction.

But be this as it may, the moderns make it a point to neglect no source of information, and much that is valuable in the grammar and lexicography of the present day must be attributed to a proper attention to Jewish sources. The grammar also of the cognate dialects has improved in like manner. The Baron de Sacy has totally changed the face of Arabic grammar. Hoffman has left little hope to those who cultivate the field of Syriac philology.*

With these principles and these advantages it was that Gensenius undertook the task of publish-

* Hoffman's work, however, must be considered rather a consequence of the latest advances in Hebrew and Arabic grammar, than as a co-ordinate improvement.—"Grammaticæ Syriacæ, Libri tres," *Halæ*, 1827, p. viii.

ing a complete Hebrew grammar, which appeared in 1817.* This work, with his lexicon, forms an era in biblical literature: though many severe strictures were at first passed, it gained very general and merited approbation; and many writers hesitate not to consider its author as almost monopolizing the Hebrew learning of the day.

I have detained you too long with the history of so barren a district of science as Hebrew grammar; it is time that I should apply it to the object of these lectures.

The influence of grammar upon the interpretation of any passage is too obvious to require explanation. No modern commentator would advance an illustration of a text, without showing that the meaning of each word, and its connection with the passage, warrant the sense which he has selected. To demonstrate, on the other hand, that his opinion involves the text in a conflict with the established rules of grammar, would be its most unanswerable refutation. But hence, you must instantly see the importance of having the standard rules, to which every one appeals, certain and satisfactory; and how easily a general grammatical canon may be laid down, upon the authority of a few instances, which will fatally deprive us of an important dogmatical proof, or give a totally

* "Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache, mit Vergleichung der verwandten Diaekte." *Leipzig*, 1817, 8vo. p. 908.

new meaning to passages hitherto deemed clear. In such a case, it becomes our duty to examine the universality of the rule; we may have to enter into the *minutiæ* of philological discussion; and in vain shall we aspire to be commentators without being grammarians. The progress of study may therefore refute these difficulties, and regain the ground which such partial researches appear to have conquered.

All this has, in fact, happened. When I inform you that the most magnificent and most circumstantial prophecy in the Old Testament had been denied; that the dispute concerning it had been mainly reduced to a grammatical discussion of the force of one little word, supposed to be the key to the entire passage; that a rule had been framed by the standard grammarian whom I have just eulogized, depriving this word of the only signification compatible with a prophetic interpretation; that, in fine, the researches of later grammarians have overthrown this rule; you will allow that important results may be gained by the progress of this study, for the vindication of prophecy, and consequently, for confirming the truth of Christianity. For there could hardly be pointed out a passage in the Old Testament from which this class of evidence can be established so satisfactorily, as from the fifty-second and fifty-third chapters of Isaiah. Nothing, therefore, remains for my proof, but briefly to sketch out the history of this controversy, making it as intelli-

gible as possible to those who are unacquainted with the Hebrew language.

In the three last verses of the fifty-second, and through the whole of the following chapter, are represented the character and fate of the *Servant of God.* Perhaps no portion of the same extent in the Old Testament is so honored by quotations and references in the New; it is the passage which divine Providence used as an instrument to convert the eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia.* As early as the age of Origen, the Jews had taken care to elude the force of a prophecy which described the *Servant of God* as afflicted, wounded, and bruised, and as laying down his life for his people, and even for the salvation of all mankind.† Though the Targum, or Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan, understood it of the Messiah, the later Jews have explained it either of some celebrated prophet, or of some collective body. The modern adversaries of prophecy have generally adopted the latter interpretation, though with considerable diversity as to the particular application. The favorite theory seems, that it represents, under the figure of the Servant of God, the whole Jewish people, often designated under that title in Scripture, and that it is descriptive of the sufferings, captivity, and restora-

* Acts viii. 32, 33.

† Chap. liii. 12. Compare Mat. xxvi. 28; Rom. v. 19; Is. lii. 15: on which see Jahn, "Appendix Hermeneuticæ," fasc. ii. *Vien.* 1815, p. 5.

tion of the whole race.* Others, however, prefer a more restricted sense, and apply the whole passage to the prophetic body. This explanation has met with an ingenious and learned patron in Gesenius.†

It is true that this servant of God is represented as one individual, but the advocates of the *collective* application appeal to one text as containing a decisive argument in their favor. This is the eighth verse of the fifty-third chapter, "for the sin of my people a stroke (was inflicted 'upon *him*')." The pronoun used here is one of rare occurrence, found chiefly in the poets (לָמוֹ *lamo*). This, it is asserted, is only plural, and the text should therefore be rendered, "a stroke is inflicted on *them*." Now, this meaning would be absolutely incompatible with a prophecy regarding a single individual, and is therefore assumed as giving the key to the entire passage, and proving that a collective body alone can be signified under the figure of God's servant. The prophecy therefore would be totally lost; instead of a clear prediction of the mission and the redemption of the Messiah, we should only have a pathetic elegy over the sufferings of the prophets, or of the people! To this word the learned Rosenmüller appeals in his prolegomena to the chapter, for a decisive termin-

* Eckermann, "Theologische Beyträge," Erst. St. p. 191. Rosenmüller, "Jesajæ Vaticinia." *Lips.* 1820, vol. iii. p. 326.

† "Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia," Zweiter Th. *Leips.* 1821, p. 168.

ation of the contest, and supposes the prophet to have used this pronoun for the express purpose of clearing up any difficulty regarding his meaning.* To it Gesenius in like manner refers for the same purpose;† and he considers it a mere prejudice to render the passage in the singular, as has been done by the Syriac version and by St. Jerome.‡ But Gesenius, as I have before hinted, had already prepared the way for his commentary, and prevented the necessity of any discussion in it, by framing a rule in his grammar, evidently intended for this passage.

There he has laid down that the poetical pronoun הֵמָּה is only plural; and that though sometimes referred to singular nouns, it is only when they are collectives. After noticing a certain number of examples, he adds the text under consideration. "In this passage," he remarks, "the grammatical discussion has acquired a dog-

* Omnino autem quo minus de singula quadam persona vatem loqui existimemus, illud vetat, quod versu 8, exeunte, de illa, qui loquentes inducuntur, dicunt. . . . הֵמָּה enim *collective* duntaxat pro הֵם usurpari videbimus ad eum locum voluitque vates illa voce usus ipse significare, ministrum illum divinum, de quo loquitur, esse certam quandam plurium hominum ejusdem conditionis collationem unius personæ imagine repræsentatam. Quum igitur omnis interpretatio, quæ singulari alicui personæ hanc pericopam accommodare student, plane sit seponenda," etc., *ubi sup.* 330, cf. p. 359.

† *Ubi sup.* pp. 163, 183.

‡ Erst. Th. erste Abth. pp. 86, 88. The Targum, Symmachus and Theodotion, who are not Christian interpreters, render the word in the same manner.

matical interest. The subject of this chapter is always mentioned in the singular, except in this text, but it is perfectly intelligible how it should be changed in ver. 8 for a plural, since, as appears to me certain, that *servant of God* is the representative of the prophetic body."* You see, therefore, how important a discussion, in itself of small consequence, may become; how the inquiry, whether an insignificant pronoun is only plural or may be singular, has become the hinge on which a question of real interest to the evidence of Christianity has been made to turn.†

The grammatical labors of Gesenius were not so perfect as to deter others from cultivating the same field. In 1827, a very full critical grammar was published by Ewald, who necessarily discussed the grammatical rule laid down by Gesenius on the subject of this pronoun. He brings together

* Lehrgebäude, p. 221.

† It must be remembered that the discussion of this particular prophecy is closely connected with the principle whether prophecy exists at all in the Old Testament. It is by such special explanations that rationalists get rid of the whole system of prophecy, whereby the truth of Christianity is so much confirmed. This passage, moreover, is of peculiar importance in proving the mission of Christ, and his identity with the promised king of the Jews. I must also observe, that besides the solutions in the text, others have been given which secure the prophecy, and yet leave the pronoun in the plural. One is in Jahn, *ubi sup.* p. 24; another, I think more conformable to Hebrew usage, in Hengstenberg's "Christologie des alten Testaments." *Berlin*, 1829. Erst. Th. zweit Abth. p. 339.

more examples, and by an examination of their context or parallel passages, determines satisfactorily, that this unusual form may well bear a singular signification.* The difficulty against the prophetic interpretation is thus removed by one of the most modern grammarians, and all those internal arguments in its favor are restored to their native force, by perseverance in the very study which had been brought to confute them.

Hermeneutics, or the principles of biblical interpretation, will scarcely appear to you a science more capable of improvement than Hebrew grammar. Did not the early writers of the Church understand the sacred volume, and must they not have been, therefore, guided by fixed and correct rules in its interpretation? I well understand the force of this question, which will receive, perhaps,

* Kritische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache ausführlich bearbeitet von D. Georg H. A. Ewald." *Leipzig*, 1827. p. 365. It would be out of place, in a popular lecture, to enter into the minute confirmations of a grammatical rule. I will therefore observe in this note, that, besides the examples given by Ewald from Job xxvii. 23, but especially Is. xliv. 15, 17, which is quite satisfactory, other considerations confirm the singular rendering of יִרְאֵהוּ 1. The suffix הוּ attached to nouns is certainly singular in Ps. xi. 7.—פָּנָיו "*his* face," speaking of God. A plural suffix is never referred to the name יְהוָה as a *plurale majestatis* (Ewald *ib*) and hence Gesenius supposes the use of the suffix to have been a mistake of the author's (*ubi sup.* p. 216.) 2. In Ethiopic the suffix ሁ is certainly singular. Lud. D Deu. *Crit Sacra.* p. 226. *Animad.* in V. T. p. 547. This pronoun seems to be common not only to both numbers, but also to both genders, as it seems to be feminine in Job xxxix. 7.

a sufficient answer in what I shall presently say. But when I speak of hermeneutics as a science, I mean that regular digest of principles and rules which qualifies the student to study, with comparative facility, God's holy word; and just as we have certainly better grammars of the Greek and Latin languages than those who spoke them, without our therefore claiming to know or understand them better than they, so has modern diligence collected and arranged with care those principles of sacred hermeneutics, founded on reason and logic, which are to be found scattered in the writings of the ancients, and were applied by them when interpreting literally, without referring to them as rules.

I am not afraid of this last assertion being disputed. It is true that the fathers often run into allegories and mysteries which the taste of the age required, and which conduced to the moral instruction of their readers or hearers. It is true, that when commenting even literally, they do not always follow those theoretical maxims which they have themselves clearly laid down, but prefer appropriate theological discussions, to the less engaging occupation of the scholiast. But, notwithstanding this, I do not hesitate to affirm that the best principles of biblical interpretation are to be found in their treatises, and the most judicious and acute application of them in their commentaries.

The fathers knew very well the difference

between literal and allegorical interpretation. St. Ephrem, for instance, is careful to warn his readers when he is going to neglect the literal for the mystical sense.* Indeed Junilius has assured us that a course, introductory to Scripture, was delivered in the Syriac school of Nisibis, in which St. Ephrem lived; and has given a compendium of the principles there taught. These he collected from the mouth of a Persian scholar, and they certainly compress in a few words the chief substance of modern hermeneutics.† The merit of St. Chrysostom as a literal commentator, who knows how to use all the pretended improvements of modern biblists, is acknowledged by Winer, a critic of the severest school.‡ Nor does he deny unequivocal praise to his disciple Theodoret.§ But as I am upon the subject, you will, I trust, indulge me a few moments while I trace an

* See "Horæ Syraicæ," p. 54; and Gaab's Essay on the method of commenting followed by St. Ephrem in the "Memorabilien" of Paulus. No. i. p. 65, *seqq.*

† "De Partibus Divinæ Legis," in "Biblioth. magna Pat. Col." tom. vi. p. ii.

‡ "In iis enim, quas ad singulos SS. libros confecit homilias, nihil antiquius habet, nisi *sensuum et singulorum verborum et integrorum commatum e loquendi usu, ex historiis, e scriptorum denique sacrorum consiliis explicare,* eaque in re idoneam probavit solertiam, *ita ut si qua parum recte nihil tamen temere dictum reperiatur.*"—"Pauli ad Galatas Epistola Græce, perpetua annotatione illustravit Dr. G. Ben. Winer." *Lips.* 1828. p. 15. Of what modern commentator can as much be said?

§ *Ib.* p. 16.

important revolution in the opinions of the moderns, and show how the increasing attention to this branch of theology has served to vindicate the early writers of Christianity. A few years ago it was the fashion to consider the Fathers of the Church as devoid of fixed or solid principles of interpretation, and their commentaries as a tissue of blunders or mistakes. The progress of hermeneutics has produced this fruit, among others, that this prejudice has worn away, and those learned and pious men have regained, in modern works, that respect and deference which had been so inconsistently refused them. Two examples of this change of sentiment will fully justify my assertion.

Of St. Augustine, the candid Ernesti has written, that "had he been acquainted with Hebrew and Greek, the greatness and subtlety of his genius would have raised him to a preëminence above all ancient commentators."* Guarded as this praise may be, it is the language of panegyric, when compared with the unmeasured censure and scurrilous language of the elder Rosenmüller. In his *History of the Interpretation of Scripture in the Christian Church*,† which had been for some years a book of reference in Germany, he undertakes to discuss the character and

* "Instit. Interp. N. T." *Lips.* 1809, p. 342.

† "D. Jo. Georg. Rosenmülleri Historia Interpretationis Librorum SS. in Ecclesia Christiana," 5 parts, *Hildburg* and *Leips.*, 1798, 1814.

merits of that holy Bishop. He details the wanderings of his youth, in order to conclude that he rather "obscured than illustrated the sacred writings;" and that, as "he preferred the authority of his master, St. Ambrose, to all the principles of sound reason, it is no wonder that the disciple was no wiser than his master."* That St. Augustine was not unacquainted with the principles of interpretation, Rosenmüller is not bold enough to deny; but his conclusion is "Augustinum nomine interpretis vix esse dignum;" nor does he even allow him that acuteness and talent which Ernesti so unrestrictedly concedes.† Such a character of the learned and pious Bishop of Hippo, is, however, worthy of a history which gives the first rank, among Christian commentators, to the heretics Pelagius and Julian! ‡

But a vindicator has not been wanting; and the merits of this great father have been diligently canvassed, and solidly demonstrated, within these few years, by Dr. Henry Clausen. His interesting little volume, published at Copenhagen, has placed the merits of St. Augustine, as a biblical scholar, in a new and honorable light.§ It

* Pars iii. *Lips.* 1807, pp. 404, 406.

† "Augustine is not worthy the name of an interpreter." P. 500, *seqq.*

‡ Pp. 505, 537.

§ "Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis Sacræ Scripturæ Interpres." *Hauniæ*, 1827, 8vo, 271 pp. The author is a Protestant.

is there proved, that he was sufficiently acquainted with Greek to make a useful application of it in his commentaries;* that he has laid down clearly all those principles "which are the stamina and first elements of chaste and sound criticism;"† that he has both diffusely given, and condensed all the best maxims of hermeneutics;‡ that by the good use of these, joined to his natural sagacity, he has been frequently most happy in elucidating the obscurities of Scripture;§ in confuting, by accurate research, the erroneous interpretations of others;‖ and that he has frequently removed difficulties by acutely penetrating the views of the inspired writers, and adducing parallel texts.

St. Jerome, the illustrious contemporary and friend of St. Augustine, has been the object of still falser obloquy, conveyed in even coarser terms. Of him Luther had said, that, instead of

* Pp. 33, 39; cf. Rosenmül. l. c. p. 404.

† P. 135.

‡ P. 137, *seqq.* St. Augustine names three qualities, with which any one attempting the illustration of Scripture should be furnished: 1. A knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages (*scientia linguarum*, or, as he elsewhere explains himself, *linguæ Hebræ et Græcæ cognitio*). 2. A knowledge of biblical archæology (*cognitione rerum quarundam necessarium*), elsewhere detailed as a knowledge of the philosophy, history, physics, and literature of the Bible. 3. An acquaintance with the critical rules for discussing the proper reading of the text (*adjuvante codicum veritate quam solers emendationis diligentia procuravit*).—De Doct. Christ. l. i. c. i. *Clausen*, p. 140.

§ P. 181. *seqq.*

‖ P. 207, *seqq.*

reckoning him a Doctor of the Church, he considered him a heretic, though he believed him to have been saved through his faith in Christ. He adds, "I know none among the Doctors to whom I am more an enemy than Jerome, because he writes only of fasting, meats, and virginity." * But the elder Rosenmüller is more definite and more violent in his charges against him as a biblical expositor. He scarcely allows him a single good quality. According to him, his knowledge of the languages, and of Palestine, is fully counterbalanced by his groundless etymologies, his rabbinical subtleties, and his total inability to seize the views of his author! † Nay, these are the lightest of his failings; what erudition he did possess, he only employed to pervert the doctrines of Christianity, nor can he be considered as possessing the slightest pretensions to theological knowledge! ‡

* "Hieronymus soll nicht unter die Lehrer der Kirche mitgerechnet noch gezählet werden; denn er ist ein Ketzer gewesen; doch glaube ich, dass er selig sey durch den Glauben an Christum. Ich weiss keinen unter den Lehrern dem ich so feind bin, als Hieronymus; denn er schreibt nur von Fasten, Speisen und Jungfrauschaft." — "Luther's sämmlichte Shriften," Th. xxii. p. 2070, ed. Walch.

† Rosenmüller, *ubi sup.* p. 346.

‡ I trust it will be with deserving indignation that the following bitter passages are read by all who value the venerable ornaments of early Christianity:—"Maxime autem dolendum, est, hunc tantum virum eruditione sua tam turpiter abusum esse, ad pervertendam doctrinam Christianam, in sacris literis traditam, atque ad omnis generis superstí-

For a change of opinion among modern scholars upon the merits of this Father, we need not step beyond the family of his accuser. The younger Rosenmüller, by his eulogiums and practical approbation, has compensated for the scurrilous and indecent censures of his father. He has observed that the commentaries of this learned doctor must be held in the greatest estimation, on account of the learning with which he always supports whatever interpretations he embraces.* He is not content with verbal praise, for the constant use made in his commentaries, of the exegetical labors of our Father, amply shows the sincere estimation in which he holds them. Through his *Scholia* on the minor prophets, he seldom has occasion to depart from the sentiments of his illustrious guide.

I have detained you long on an early period of biblical literature, because it proves that even the *history* of hermeneutics is an advancing sci-

tiones defendendas et propagandas." He then proceeds to attribute to him, "immodicum studium suas absurdissimas opiniones tuendi, incredibilis animi impotentia et superstitio, furor quo abreptus," etc. p. 369.—"Ex hactenus dictis satis, ut opinor, apparet, Sanctum (si Diis placet) Hieronymum cum omni sua eruditione hebraica, græca, latina, geographica, etc., fuisse Monachorum superstitiosissimum, omnis veræ eruditionis theologicæ expertem. Ut paucis dicamus, religioni plus nocuit quam profuit."—P. 393.

* "Ezechielis Vaticinia," *Lips.* 1826, vol. i. p. 26. We may forgive filial affection, when he refers us to the work of his father for the character of St. Jerome, whom he himself portrays so differently.—P. 25.

ence, and that its advance has served to remove prejudices against the early writers of Christianity, and to vindicate their character from the rash and unwarranted aggressions of the liberal school.

Having thus shown that, however modern this science may be in its code, it is as ancient as Christianity in its principles, we must pass over the lapse of a thousand years of its history, and approach nearer our own times. Upon the revival of letters, numerous commentators arose among our divines, whose works have shared the obloquy heaped upon those of the fifth century. It has been esteemed a duty to decry the voluminous productions of these diligent, and often sagacious, expositors, as a mere mass of literary rubbish, fit perhaps to fill the shelves of a library, but not to encumber the table of the student.

But though they are often too prolix, and tend too much to allegorical interpretation, it would be injustice to deny that in the diligent collection and discussion of others' opinions, in a sagacious examination of the context and bearing of a passage, and in the happy removal of serious difficulties, they have cleared the way for their successors, and effected much more than these are always careful to acknowledge. The commentary, for instance, of Pradus and Villalpandus, on Ezekiel, which was published at Rome, from 1596 to 1604, is still the great repertory to which every modern scholiast must recur, in explaining the difficulties of that book, and is acknowledged, by the most

learned of them, to be "a work replete with varied erudition, and most useful to the study of antiquity." * The annotations of Agelli upon the Psalms, published also at Rome in 1606, have been pronounced by the same writer, after Ernesti, the work of a "most learned and most sagacious author, who is peculiarly happy in explaining the relations of the Alexandrian and Vulgate versions." † Even greater commendations are lavished by the learned and ingenious Schultens, upon the Spanish Jesuit Pineda, whose notes upon Job (*Madrid*, 1597) he acknowledges to "have eased him of no small part of his labors." He styles their author, "Theologus et Literator eximius, magnus apud suos, apud nos quoque." ‡ Maldonatus on the Gospels has been praised and recommended by Ernesti, though, as might be expected, the recommendation is recalled in harsh terms by his annotator Ammon.§ When, some years ago, it was proposed in Germany to republish Calmet's commentaries, the very mention of such a scheme excited the ridicule of the liberal school;‖ yet I have been assured by a very sound

* Rosenmüller, "Ezechielis Vaticinia," vol. i. *Lips.* 1826, p. 32.

† "Psalmi," vol. i. *Lips.* 1821, Præf. (p. 5).

‡ "Liber Jobi cum nova versione et commentario perpetuo," *Lug Bat.* 1737, tom. i. Præf. (p. 11).

§ "Inst. Jut." p. 353.

‖ If I remember right, there is a paper on this subject somewhere in "Eichhorn's Allgemeine Bibliothek."

scholar, that he had compared his notes on Isaiah with Lowth's, and had generally found the most beautiful illustrations of the English Bishop anticipated by the learned Benedictine. Another learned friend has pointed out to me considerable transcriptions from him, in modern annotators, without the slightest acknowledgment.* But no one has put the truth of these observations in a stronger light than my late amiable and excellent friend, Prof. Ackermann, in his commentary on the Minor Prophets.† Through the whole of this work, the opinions of the old Catholic divines have been collected and honorably mentioned. It is pleasing to see these writers, whose names it has become so unfashionable to quote, once more treated with respect; and there is something almost amusing in the frequent juxtaposition of Rosenmüller and Cornelius a Lapide, Oedmann and Figueiro, Hort and De Castro.

If I have wandered into such long digressions upon the older commentators, you will allow that the results obtained bear strongly upon my subject, and unite their conclusions with the general issue of these discourses. For it will, I trust, have appeared, that the study and application of

* For instance, Rosenmüller's "Prophetæ Minores," vol ii. *Lips*, 1813, p. 337, *seqq.*, is taken almost verbatim from Calmet's preface on Jonas, "Commentaire litéral," vol. vi. p. 893 fol. *Par.* 1726.

† "Prophetæ Minores perpetua annotatione illustrati a Dre. P. F. Ackermann."—*Vienna*, 1830.

hermeneutics, though not digested into a system, have always been followed in the Church, and that the progress of the science has removed old prejudices, and vindicated the memory of men entitled to the respect and gratitude of every Christian.

From them I must turn to a very different class. After the middle of the last century, Semler gave the first impulse to what he denominated the liberal interpretation of the Scriptures. A denial of inspiration, the resolution of every miracle into an allegory, or a vision, or a delusion, or a natural event clothed in oriental exaggeration, and a total denial of prophecy, are the characteristics of his school. That belief in inspiration cannot be required from any Protestant divine, Semler argues from the acknowledged principles of all the Reformed Churches;* for this impious explanation of miracles, actual rules have been laid down by Ammon;† and practical applications of them abound in the works of Eichhorn, Paulus, Gabler, Schuster, Rettig and many others. But it is chiefly on the progress of hermeneutics in the interpretation of prophecy, that I wish to detain you a few moments; because, by it the Old Testament principally is connected with the evidences of Christianity.

* In his preface to "Vogel's Compendium of Schultens on the Proverbs," *Halle*, 1769, p. 5.

† "De interpretatione narrationum mirabilium N. T." prefixed to his Ernesti, ed. *sup. sit.* He seems, however, to allow some miracles, p. xiv.

Any one accustomed, as you have been, to hear the prophecies of the Old Testament treated, not merely with respect, but with veneration, must be shocked to see with what open liberty they are handled by authors of this school. De Wette, for instance, never thinks, in his Introductory Manual, of even noticing the belief that there is such a thing as real prediction in the writings of Isaiah, or of his fellow prophets. The only difference between them and the seers of pagan nations is, that "these wanted the true and moral spirit of monotheism, by which the Hebrew prophecy was purified and consecrated."* I will not further shock you by following the history of this wretched school, the impieties of which have unfortunately so widely prevailed on the continent as to be openly taught by persons holding theological chairs in Protestant universities, and published by men who call themselves, on their title-page, pastors of Protestant congregations. It will be sufficient to state, that the late Professor Eichhorn reduced to system the rationalist theory of prophecy, and pretended to establish a complete parallelism between the messengers of the true God and the soothsayers of heathenism.†

With such principles as these, we must expect to find the interpretation of prophecies dreadfully

* "Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung. Zweyte verbesserte Auflage." *Berlin*, 1822, p. 279.

† "Einleitung in das Alte Testament," 4th ed. *Götting.* 1824, vol. iv. p. xlv.

perverted. Hence, in many modern commentaries the predictions relating to the Messiah are either totally overlooked, or systematically attacked. Jahn, though a rash unsound writer, did something towards vindicating and illustrating many of them ;* and the prophecies in the Psalms are much indebted to Michaelis for an able defence.† In Rosenmüller there is much inequality; on some occasions he takes the side of our adversaries, as on the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, and in impugning the genuineness of the latter portion of that book. On other occasions he stands forth as a learned and able advocate for the prophetic sense; and I need only instance his annotations on the 45th Psalm, and his dissertation on the celebrated prediction in Isaiah vii.‡

The depraved state into which hermeneutical science had thus sunk was sure to produce a reaction, and through it, a return to better principles. This has already in a great measure been the case, and works have appeared which, having profited by the great erudition brought into play on the other side, have drawn some good out of the mass of evil accumulated on this study. For they have fully shown that the learning and ingenuity displayed in attacking divine prophecy may be well enlisted in the better cause, and retain all

* "Appendix Hermeneut." *Vienna*, 1813, 1815.

† "Critisches Collegium über die drey wichtigsten Psalmen von Christo." *Frankf. & Götting.* 1759.

‡ "Jesajæ Vaticin." tom. i. 292.

their brilliant, though they lose their dazzling power. I will only notice the work of Hengstenberg upon the prophecies regarding Christ, in which the series of prophetic announcement is analyzed and vindicated with great sagacity and solid learning. The doctrines of a suffering Messiah, and of Christ's divinity, as foretold in the Old Testament, are admirably exposed; all that Rabbins and Fathers, oriental and classical writers, can contribute, is lucidly and effectively brought together; the objections of adversaries are skilfully solved or removed, and a great felicity and tact is exhibited in unravelling the sense of obscure phraseology.* We may indeed say that in his hands the very science which till lately appeared ruinous to the cause of inspired truth, becomes a most efficient instrument for its vindication.

Allow me now to give you what I consider an example of a higher order of application; and pardon me if, for a few moments, I depart from the popular form which I have endeavored to preserve throughout these Lectures; for the subject may well seem to merit, and certainly requires, more learned disquisition. Among some arguments urged by Michaelis for rejecting the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel is one founded on the following circumstance. They contain

* "Christologie des alten Testaments, und Commentar über die messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten," *Berlin*, 1829, vol. i. parts i. ii. Other parts have since been published.

several references to the Old Testament, introduced by the formulas, "all this was done, *that it might be fulfilled* which the Lord spoke by the prophets;"* "*for so it is* written by the prophet;"† "*that it might be fulfilled* which the Lord spoke by the prophet;"‡ "*then was fulfilled* that which was spoken."§ According to him, the texts thus quoted do not appear literally to correspond to the events to which they are applied; and he refuses to consider them as mere quotations, or adaptations, on account of the strong forms of introduction. No examples, he observes, can be brought, of any phrase, so strong as the ones which I have quoted, being used to introduce a mere accommodation of a text. He must, therefore, consider the writer's meaning to be, that the circumstances which he describes, truly formed the fulfilment of those ancient prophecies. Now, proceeding on the principle of private interpretation, he thinks they cannot be so taken, and, as an inspired writer could not have committed an error, he will rather attribute those chapters to some other, and that an uninspired author, than bend these phrases to signify simply an adaptation of Scripture texts.‖

It is this objection which I wish to meet. I am not going to examine the texts singly, and

* Matt. i. 22. † Matt. ii. 5.

‡ Matt. ii. 15. § Matt. ii. 17.

‖ Michaelis's "Introduction to the New Testament," vol. i. pp. 206, 214, Marsh's translation.

prove that they may well be considered applicable to the events of our Saviour's life; I wish to meet the broad question, and show how the progress of oriental research cuts away the ground from under the rationalist's feet, and totally overthrows the chief argument on which the rejection of those two important chapters has been based.

Most commentators, Catholic and Protestant, will be found to agree that some texts, even when thus introduced, may be mere allegations, without its being intended to declare that the literal fulfilment took place on the occasion described. Many writers have taken great pains to prove that even the forms of expression which I have cited, are not incompatible with this idea; and for this purpose they have chiefly used the writings of the Rabbins, and of classical authors. Thus, Surenhusius produced a large volume upon the forms of quotation, used by the Rabbins; but did not adduce a single passage where the word *fulfilled* occurs.* Dr. Sykes asserts, that such expressions are to be found in every page of Jewish writers; but does not quote one single example.† Knapp repeats the same assertion, saying "that the Hebrew and Chaldaic verb, מלא, and the Chaldaic and Rabbinical words, אשלים תקן, and גמר, signify to *consummate*, or *confirm* a

* Βιβλος καταλλαγης. *Amsterd.* 1713.

† "Truth of the Christian Religion," *Lond.* 1725, pp 206, 296.

thing.* He then gives an example of the first word, from 1 Kings, i. 14, where the meaning is only, "I will *complete* your words." Prof. Tholuck has, indeed, brought several examples from the Rabbins to establish this meaning. The two strongest are these: "He who eats and drinks, and afterwards prays, *of him it is written*, 'Thou hast cast me behind thy back.'"—"Since the שמיר (*Shamir*, a fabulous animal) has destroyed the temple, the current of divine grace, and pious men, has ceased, *as it is written*, Psal. xii. 2." To these he has added a passage from the chronicle of Barhebræus, a Syriac writer of a much later age. It simply says—"They saw the anger *whereof the prophet says*, I will bear the anger of the Lord, because I have sinned."† The force of which words extends no further than this,—"they saw the anger of the Lord." Mr. Sharpe,

* Georgii, Christ. Knapp. "Scripta varii argumenti maximam partem exagetici et historici argumenti," ed. 2, *Halle*, 1823, tom. ii. p. 523.

† "Commentar zu dem Evangelio Johannis," *Hamb.* 1827, p. 68. Some years ago this learned professor asked me whether, in the course of reading, I had met with passages, in Syriac writers, calculated to remove these difficulties, and to illustrate the phrases in question. I pointed out the examples given in the text; and, at his request, furnished him with a copy, and gave him full permission to use them. It is possible, therefore, that they may have appeared in some German work which I have not seen; and I consequently feel it right to mention the circumstance, lest I should be suspected of taking to myself credit for any other person's industry.

and others, have quoted a few passages from Greek classics; but they are far from coming up to the determinate and strong form of the phrases in the New Testament.* For, after all, Michaelis's observation stands good, that none of them equal in force the words, "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet;" and his annotator's question remains unanswered, "was this expression used in this sense by the Rabbins?"†

One example, however, may seem to escape this censure. It is a passage quoted by Wetstein from the compendium of St. Ephrem's life given in Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; where an angel thus addresses a saint:— ܐܬܕܗܪ ܕܐܢ ܐܬܠܡܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܗܝ ܕܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܐܦܝܣܩ ܐܝܟ ܥܓܠܬܐ ܘܝ—"Take care lest that *be fulfilled in thee which was written*, Ephraim is a heifer,' etc."‡ This instance, however did not appear to Michaelis satisfactory, because, I suppose, it was unsupported by others, and on account of its admonitory form.§

The field, therefore, may be considered, open, and worthy to occupy the attention of scholars. Now, though it may appear presumptuous, I think I have it in my power to solve the difficulty, sim-

* Ap. Horne, "Introduction," vol. ii. p. 444, note.

† "Notes on Michaelis," vol. i, p. 487.

‡ "Assem. B. O." tom. i. p. 35. "Acta S. Ephr. Oper. tom. iii. p. xxxvi. Wetstein in Mat. i. 22.

§ Vol. i. p. 214.

ply by the course which I have been endeavoring to suggest through these Lectures, by the prosecution, however feebly, of the very study to which it belongs. In endeavoring to meet it, I need not premise that I, by no means, allow any validity to Michaelis's arguments, or mean to admit that the quotations in St. Matthew's first chapters may not be proved accurately applicable to the events there described. On these points there is very much to be said; but I wish to waive the long investigation into which they would lead us, and simply take up the question upon the objector's own grounds, and prove that even granting all that he assumes, he has no reason for rejecting that portion of Scripture, or impugning the inspiration of its writer. In other words, I wish to show, that, even in those texts could not be applied to certain events, otherwise than by accommodation, the phrases which introduce them will easily bend to that explanation, and so destroy the argument drawn from their force. For I will show you, by examples from the earliest Syriac writers, that in the East similar expressions were used for accommodating Scriptural phrases to individuals, to whom the writers could not possibly have believed them primarily or originally to refer.

1. The phrase "to be fulfilled" is so used, and that in a declaratory form, and not merely as in the instance given by Wetstein. In a fuller life of St. Ephrem than the one which he quotes, we have this remarkable passage:— ܘܐܬܡܠܝ ܥܠܘܗܝ

ܡܠܬܐ ܡܬܟ ܒܘܠܘܣ ܠܚܢܢܝܐ. ܕܐܡܪܐ ܗܘ ܠܝ ܓܒܝܐ. ܕܐܠܐܡܝܐ—"And *in him was fulfilled* the word which was spoken concerning Paul to Ananias; he is a vessel of election to me."* The author is here speaking of St. Ephrem, and clearly expresses himself, that the words which he applies to him were really spoken of another. But the saint himself, the oldest writer extant in that language, uses this phrase in a more remarkable manner. For thus he speaks of Aristotle:—

ܗܝ ܕܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܒܘܝܡܝܐ ܘܐܚܝܢܐ ܐܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܚܟܝܡܐ

ܠܠܘܗܝ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܟܘܬܗ ܡܬܟ ܡܠܝܡܘܢ ܚܘܝܡܐ

"*In him was fulfilled* that which was written concerning Solomon the Wise; 'that of those who were before or after, there has not been one equal to him in wisdom.'" †

2. The expression, *as it is written*, or *as the prophet says*,‡ is used precisely in the same manner. St. Ephrem uses it manifestly to introduce a mere adaptation of a scriptural text.—ܗܢܝܢ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܠܘܕܪܢܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܥܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܟܐ ܘܝܢ ܠܬܥܝܐ "Those who are in error have hated the source of assistance; *as it is written*, 'The Lord awoke like one who slept.'"§ To see the force of

* "St. Ephrem Oper." tom iii. p. xxiv.

† Serm. i. tom ii. p. 317. ‡ Matt. ii. 6.

§ Serm. xxxiii. adv. Hæres tom. ii. p. 513. To such as are conversant with the Syriac language, I would observe, that the Latin version translates the ܠܘܕܪܢܐ by *ämentes*, whereas

this application, the entire passage must be read. I pass over some less decided examples,* and hasten on.

3. Even the strongest of all such expressions, "this is he of whom it is written," is used with the same freedom by these early oriental writers. In the Acts of St. Ephrem, which I have more than once quoted, it is so applied. For example, speaking of the Saint—ܕܐܡܝ ܒܘܪܘܟܝ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܗܘܐ—"This *is he of whom our Saviour said*, 'I came to cast fire upon the earth.'"† In another place the same text is applied to him by St. Basil in still more definite terms.‡

Still further to confirm these illustrations, I will observe that the Arabs, in quoting their sacred book, the Koran, apply it in this manner to passing events. I will give you one or two instances out of many which I have noticed. In a letter from Amelic Alaschraf Barsebai to Mirza Schah-

throughout all these sermons it means *wanderers*, or heretics. Cf. pp. 526, 527, 559, etc. By it St. Ephrem seems to mean the Manicheans.

* For instance, in the Acts of St. Ephrem, p. xxv. where, however, only a moral precept is cited, which in fact does not occur in the Bible. Again, tom. ii. p. 487, where "as it is written," introduces a quotation.

† P. xxxviii.

‡ P. xlviii. He expressly says, "This is he *of whom* our Saviour said," etc., whereas in the other text the words in, italics are understood. Assemani, the translator of this life, renders the phrase by "propterea ipsi *accommodatum iri* illa Domini verba," etc.

rockh, son of Timur, published by De Sacy, we have these words:—"We, indeed, if the Most High had wished it, could not prevail over you; but *he has promised us victory* in the venerable book of God, saying, 'Then we gave you the advantage over them.'"* Which words were clearly spoken of a quite different person. The following example approaches more to the phrases in question:—

فلنا اسوة برسول الله في قوله ما أوذي نبي ما أوذيت

"We resemble the Prophet, *when he says*, 'Never did prophet suffer what I suffer.'"†

I fear lest this disquisition may have proved tedious to many; if so, I will only request them to consider how important its object may well appear. For it is directed to wrench out of the hands of rash scholars a pretended argument for rejecting two of the most important and beautiful chapters of gospel history. It serves, too, as another illustration of how continued application to any pursuit is sure to obtain possession of a sufficient clue to unravel the difficulties drawn from its lower stages.

Desultory as the subjects of which I have treated may appear, they have, I trust, presented a variety of points illustrative of the object pursued in these Lectures. In every one of the mem-

* De Sacy, "Chrestomathie Arabe," 1st ed. Arab. text p. 256, vers. tom. ii. p. 325.

† Humbert, "Anthologie Arabe," *Paris*, 1819, p. 112.

bers which compose the direct study of the Bible, we have seen a natural onward progress; and in every instance the spontaneous consequence of that progress has been the removal of prejudice, the confutation of objections, and the confirmation of the truth. I will only add, that the personal and practical application of the various pursuits which have been grouped together in this Lecture will satisfy any one, that even in that confined form they have the same power of development, and the same saving virtue. Experience has long since satisfied me, that every text, which Catholics advance in favor of their doctrines controverted by Protestants, will stand those rigid tests to which modern science insists upon submitting every passage under discussion. This, however, is the province of dogmatic or polemic theology, and therefore must not be intruded upon here.

The study of God's word, and the meditation upon its truths, surely forms our noblest occupation. But when that study is conducted upon severe principles, and with the aid of deep research, it will be found to combine the intellectual enjoyment of the mathematician, with the rapture of the poet, and ever to open new sources of edification and delight, to some of which I hope to open you a way in my next discourse.

LECTURE THE ELEVENTH;

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

PART II.

PROFANE STUDIES.

INTRODUCTORY Remarks. *Illustrations* of particular passages.—Collections of Oriental customs and ideas from travellers.—The growing nature of such illustrations exemplified in Gen. xliv. 5, 15.—Difficulties raised by earlier writers; illustrations furnished by later authors.—Luke ii. 4, supposed to be not conformable to any known law among the ancients; difficulties removed by a passage of an oriental author.—Geographical elucidations lately made by Messrs. Burton and Wilkinson.—*Philosophy of Asia.* General remarks on the confirmation it gives of the fundamental principles of Christian faith, by the unity of its conclusions in different countries.—On the Oriental philosophy.—Its influence on the Jewish doctrines; Scriptural phrases illustrated by Bendsten.—Sabian doctrines; their use in explaining some parts of the New Testament.—Opinions of the Samaritans, lately ascertained, remove a difficulty in John iv.—Chinese school of Laotseu; its doctrine of the Trinity shown to be probably derived from the Jews.—Indian philosophy; excessive antiquity attributed to it; opinions of the moderns; Colebrooke, the Windischmanns, Ritter. Supposed antiquity of the Ezour Vedam; the work discovered to be modern.—*Historical researches.* Serious historical difficulty in Is. xxxix. removed by a

newly-discovered fragment of Berosus.—Attack on the origin of Christian rites, from their resemblance to the Lamaic worship. Discovery, from oriental works, of the modern origin of that system.

In my last Lecture, I treated of those illustrations of the sacred text which had its own substance for their object, whether in the letter or in its signification. There are obviously many of another class, which oriental studies must afford, similar to those which we have seen furnished by other sciences. In fact, there is no branch of literature so rich in biblical vindications and illustrations as those studies which I have characterized as "Profane Oriental Literature." The epithet here given is unfortunately equivocal, and I wish we had some other to substitute in its place. The term 'profane,' when applied to studies not essentially connected with sacred subjects, seems almost to cast a reproach upon them. Being often used to express not merely the absence of a peculiarly sacred character, but the addition of positive unholiness, and applied to express the guilt of acts otherwise indifferent, it has unfortunately the same force in the minds of some, when applied to literary pursuits. Among the errors of thought which the use of equivocal words has introduced, there are few more hurtful, and yet few more common than this. In my concluding lecture I may have occasion to notice the opposition made at all times by many to human learning; for the present I will only observe that they are the epithets by which it has

been distinguished from more sacred studies, which have chiefly led weak minds to their rash decision. The names of *secular*, or *human*, or still more *profane* learning, have in reality suggested or encouraged the abhorrence which such men have felt and expressed for all but theological pursuits.

These terms, however, are all relative, and only framed thus strongly to exalt the other, which necessarily excels them, as all things directed to the spirit and its profits, must surpass whatever is but the offspring of earth. But wisdom and knowledge, wherever found, are gifts of God, and the fruits of the right use of faculties by him given; and as we find that the Christians of former ages scrupled not to represent on their most sacred monuments the effigies of men whose science or graceful literature had adorned the world even in ages of paganism, so may we consider the learning of such men well worthy of a place among the illustrations and ornaments of the holy religion to which those buildings were devoted.

At the same time, therefore, that I esteem such pursuits most worthy of our attention, the consideration of what I have remarked leaves me no scruple in placing among profane literature, such illustrations of Holy Writ, as may be found in oriental writers of the most venerable character, and of the most holy minds. For I use the term in no other sense than as a conventional distinctive of a class of learning most useful and most commendable.

I shall divide the subject of this morning's

entertainment into three parts; first, I will treat of such particular illustrations as eastern archæology may glean in the East: secondly, I will give a few instances of the influence which our growing acquaintance with the philosophy of Asia has had upon the vindication of religion; and thirdly, I will try to select one or two examples of the use to be made of oriental historical records.

The first of these classes has been long justly popular in this country. No other nation has sent so many enterprising travellers to explore the East; and it was natural to expect that it would take the lead in applying the results of their observations, which became a part of its literature, to the illustration of Scripture. Accordingly, we have been almost overrun with collections from travellers, of manners, customs, and opinions existing in Asia, and tending to throw some light upon the biblical narrative. Often the examples which follow the order of the books and chapters of Scripture, are quite unnecessary, sometimes they are insufficient; on all occasions they do not possess the value of systematic treatises on Scriptural antiquities, in which the results are digested, and compared with all the passages on which they seem to bear. It is hardly necessary to remark, that whatever advantage such compilations may present to religion and its sacred volume, is necessarily of a growing character. The mine is inexhaustible; every traveller succeeds in discovering some new coincidence between the ancient and modern occupants of Asia,

and at every new edition, the works to which I have alluded swell in bulk, and increase the number of their volumes. Burder's "Oriental Customs and Literature," when translated by Rosenmüller into German, received great and valuable accessions, which have in their turn been translated, and added to the original work. I believe I should have to add to the number of my Lectures, were I to offer you the gleanings which I have made in this branch of literature, after the plentiful harvest of my predecessors. Well might the Oriental Translation Committee pronounce, not only that "the sacred Scriptures abound in modes of expression, and allusions to customs, in many cases imperfectly understood in Europe, but still prevailing in the East," but also, that many additional illustrations might be expected from the publication of more oriental authors.*

I will select one instance, almost at random, which seems to exemplify the increasing nature of such researches.

In Gen. xliv. 5, 15, mention is made of a cup in which Joseph divined; of course, keeping up the disguise which he had thought it necessary to assume. "The cup which you have stolen is that in which my lord drinketh, and *in which he is wont to divine* . . . . . And he said to them, Why would you do so? know ye not that there is no one like me in the science of divining?" Now,

* 'Report," *Lond.* 1829, p. 7.

formerly this gave rise to such a serious objection, that very able critics proposed an alteration in the reading or translation of the word; for it was supposed to allude to a custom completely without any parallel in ancient authors. "Who," exclaims Houbigant, "ever heard of auguries taken by the agency of a cup?" * Aurivillius goes still further:—"I acknowledge," says he, "that such an interpretation might be probable, if it could be proved by the testimony of any creditable historian, that, either then or at any later period, the Egyptians used this method of divination." † Burder, in the first edition of his *Oriental Customs*, produced two methods of divining with cups, given by Saurin from Julius Serenus and Cornelius Agrippa, neither of them very applicable to this case.‡ The Baron Silvestre de Sacy was the first to show the existence of this very practice in Egypt in modern times, from an incident recounted in Norden's travels. By a singular coincidence, Baram Cashef tells the travellers that he had consulted his cup, and discovered that they were spies, who had come to discover how the land might best be invaded and subdued.§ Thus we see the condition complied with on which alone Aurivillius, half a century ago, agreed

* Note *in loc.*

† "Dissertationes ad Sacras Literas et Philologiam Orientalem pertinentes," *Götting.* and *Lips.* 1790, p. 273.

‡ "Oriental Customs," *Lond.* 1807, vol. i. p. 25.

§ "Chrestomathie Arabe," *Paris*, 1806, vol. ii. p. 513.

to be satisfied with the sense at present given by the text. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for August, 1833, a very curious and well-attested instance was given of the use of the divining-cup, as witnessed by the reporters in Egypt, in company with several English travellers, which bears a character highly marvellous and mysterious.

But so far from its being any longer difficult to find a single instance of this practice in Egypt, we may say, that no species of divining can be proved more common throughout the East. For instance, in a Chinese work, written in 1792, which contains a description of the kingdom of Thibet, among the methods of divining in use there, this is given: "Sometimes they look into a jar of water, and see what is to happen."* The Persians too, seem to have considered the cup as the principal instrument of augury; for their poets constantly allude to the fable of a celebrated divining-cup, originally the property of the demi-god Dshemshid, who discovered it in the foundations of Estakhar, and from whom it descended to Solomon and Alexander, and formed the cause of all their success and glory. Guignaut adds Joseph to the list of its possessors; but I know not on what authority.† All these examples suppose the augury to be taken by inspection. I

* "Quelquefois ils regardent dans une jatte d'eau, et voient ce que doit arriver."—"Nouveau Journal Asiatique" *Oct.*, 1829, p. 261.

† "On Creuzer," tom. i. part i. p. 312.

will add another example of a different manner. This, the authority of the oldest Syriac Father, St. Ephrem, who tells us that oracles were received from cups, by striking them, and noticing the sound which they emitted.* Thus, then, we see a growing series of illustrations of a passage not many years ago considered untenable, from its being unsupported by any.

And having produced this last example from a class of oriental literature too much neglected at present, I cannot refrain from giving one more illustration from it, of a difficulty which I believe has not as yet been removed. It is stated in Luke, ii. 4, that Joseph was obliged to go to Bethlehem, the city of David, there to be enrolled and taxed with his virgin spouse, on occasion of a general census. This was evidently an obligation; and yet there appears no other example of such a practice. Lardner proposes this difficulty, and suggests a solution from Ulpian, who tells us that all should be enrolled where their estate lies. "Though Joseph," says he, "was not rich; yet he might have some small inheritance at or near Bethlehem."† He was not, however, himself satisfied with this answer; because as he observes, had Joseph possessed any land there (*ager* is the word used by Ulpian), some house would probably have been attached to it, or at least his tenant would

* "Opera omnia," tom. i. Syr. et Lat. *Rome*, 1737, p. 100.

† "Lardner's works," *Lond.* 1827, vol. i. p. 281.

have received him under his roof. And moreover, the reason given is, "*because* he was of the house and family of David." Lardner, therefore, further suggests, that it was some custom of the Jews, to be enrolled in tribes and families: but there could be no necessity for this troublesome method of observing it, nor has it been shown that such a custom ever existed. But the fact is, we have an example of this very practice in the same country in later times. Dionysius, in his chronicle, tells us that "Abdalmelic made a census of the Syrians in 1692, and published a positive decree, that every individual should go to his country, his city, and his father's house, and be enrolled, giving in his name, and whose son he was; with an account of his vineyards, his olive-yard, his flocks, his children, and all his possessions." This, he adds, was the first census made by the Arabs in Syria.* This one instance is sufficient to take away all strange appearance from the circumstance as recorded in the Gospel, and makes it unnecessary to assign a reason for it.

I can hardly give any motive for allowing these instances a preference over many others, which would have equally shown how this branch of oriental pursuits, the inquiry into the habits and state, physical and moral, of the East, goes on, so long as it is pursued, removing all difficulties, and shedding new light upon Scriptural narratives.

* Assemani, "Biblioth. Orientalis," vol. ii. p. 104.

To conclude this branch of my subject, I will notice the information lately gained upon Scripture geography by the discoveries in Egyptian literature. For instance, Mr. Burton has made us acquainted with the Zoan of Numbers (xiii. 22), and Ezekiel (xxx. 14), the hieroglyphic name for which he has discovered and published.* In like manner Mr. Wilkinson has cleared up the controversy respecting the No-Ammon, or No of Nahum (iii. 8), Jeremiah (xlvi. 25), and Ezekiel (*ib.*); for he has proved it to be the Egyptian name for the Thebais.† The Septuagint has indeed translated it by Diospolis, the ancient name of Thebes among the Greeks. In fact, the name Thebes, or Thebæ, is supposed by Champollion to be the Egyptain word *Tapè*, the *head* or *capital*, in the Theban dialect. The Hebrew name, No-Ammon, is purely Egyptian, and signifies the *possession* or *portion* of the God *Amun*, by which the same version once renders it μερὶς Ἄμμων (Nahum iii. 8).‡

It must not be thought that the department of biblical illustration on which I have so long dwelt, has been entirely in the hands of such popular writers as I have before alluded to. On the contrary, the natural history of the East has been

* "Excerpta Hieroglyph." No. iv.

† Communicated by Sir W. Gell, in the "Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica," *Rome*, 1829, No. ix. pp. 104–106.

‡ "Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde," or "Biblische Geographie, von. E. F. K. Rosenmüller," *Leipz.* 1828, dritter Band, p. 299.

profoundly studied, since the time of Bochart and Celsius, by Oedman and Forskäl, with wonderful success; the manners and customs of the Jews have received invaluable light from Braun and Schröder; nay, we have a volume by Bynæus, replete with much curious erudition, *de calceis Hebræorum*,—on the shoes of the Hebrews. But let us pass forward to more important subjects.

The philosophy of the East may be viewed in many lights, and in each reflects differently upon sacred truths. We may simply consider the philosophy of different nations as the characterizing indication of their mind, as that distinctive which, in reference to the operations of their understandings, takes the place held by the outward features in regard to their characteristic passions. Every national philosophy must necessarily bear the impress of that peculiar system of thought which nature or social institutions, or some other modifying cause, has stamped upon the mind; it will be mystical, or merely logical, profound or popular, abstract or practical, according to the character of thought prevalent in the people. The experimental philosophy which we owe to Bacon, is the exact type of the habit of thought pervading the English character, from the highest meditations of our sages to the practical reasoning of the peasant. The abstracting and contemplative, half-dreaming mysticism of the Hindoo, is no less the natural expression of his habitual

calm and listlessness, the flow of bright deep thought, which must be produced in one who sits musing on the banks of his majestic streams. Where there are many sects, we may rely upon most of them professing foreign, and often uncongenial, doctrines. Hence arise those almost contradictory appearances in some parts of the best Greek philosophies, that admission of great truths, and yet the weakness of proofs, which we meet in their sublimest writer.

But hence it follows, that when we see all the philosophical systems of nations quite distinct in character, perfectly unlike each other in their logical processes, arriving at the same consequences on all great points of moral interest to man, we are led to a choice of one of two conclusions; either that a primeval tradition, a doctrine common to the human species, and consequently given from the beginning, has flowed down to us through so many channels; or else, that these doctrines are so essentially, so naturally true, that the human mind, under every possible form, discovers and embraces them. Ancient philosophers concluded, from the consent of mankind in some common belief, that it must be correct; and thus did prove many precious and important doctrines. By the deeper study of the philosophy of many nations, we have advanced the force of this reasoning an immense step; for we now can tell the grounds on which they received them. Had we met one system in which the future and perpetual

existence of man's soul was denied, and the denial supported by processes of reasoning, conducted on principles perfectly independent of foreign teaching, we certainly should have felt before us a difficulty, of some weight to overcome. But when we find the mysticism of the Indian arriving at the same conclusion as the synthetic reasoning of the Greek, we must be satisfied that the conclusion is correct. In the portion of the *Akhlak e Naseri*, a Persian work upon the soul, which Col. Wilks has translated, all the questions relating to that portion of man are discussed with marvellous acuteness; and though, from some resemblance to the Greek philosophers, the translator thinks the reasoning is borrowed from them,* it seems to me that the turn of thought, and form of argumentation, display a decidedly original character.

Thus have we gained an additional force for our convictions upon points of belief essentially necessary, as the groundwork of Christianity, and still further developed by its teaching. But there are several systems of Asiatic philosophy, which come into close contact with the Scriptures, from their being alluded to in it, or perhaps attacked; and which being known, may throw considerable light upon particular passages.

The principal of these is what is commonly known under the name of the *oriental philosophy*.

* "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. i pp. 514. *seqq. Lond.* 1827.

This consists of that peculiarly mysterious system which formed the basis of the old Persian religion, and from which the earliest sects of Christianity sprung up; the belief in the conflict between opposite powers of good and evil, and in the existence of emanated influences, intermediate between the divine and earthly natures; and the consequent adoption of mystical and secret terms, expressive of the hidden relations between these different orders of created and uncreated beings. This philosophy pervaded all the East: there can be no doubt but that its influence was felt among the Jews at the time of our Saviour's coming, and that in particular the sect of Pharisees held much of its mysterious doctrines. It penetrated into Greece, affected greatly the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophies, and acted on the people through the secret religious mysteries. In many of its doctrines it approached so near to the truth, that the inspired writers were led to adopt some of its terms to expound their doctrines. Hence it is, that our great acquaintance with this system of philosophy, from the greater attention paid to it, has tended to confirm and illustrate many phrases and passages formerly obscure. For instance, when Nicodemus either understood not, or affected not to understand, our Lord's expression that he must be "born again," we should be rather inclined to think such an expression by no means easy, and to consider the censure as severe: "Art thou a master in Israel, and understandest

not these things?" * But when we discover that this was the ordinary figure by which the Pharisees themselves expressed, in their mystic language, the act of becoming a proselyte, and that the phrase belongs to that philosophy, and is used by the Brahmans of such as join their religion, † we at once perceive how such an obscure phrase should have been well understood by the person to whom it was addressed. Bendsten has carefully collected such ancient inscriptions as contain mystical allusions drawn from this hidden philosophy, and has produced several illustrations of phrases in the New Testament.‡ It may suffice to say, that such expressions as *light* and *darkness*, the *flesh* and the *spirit*, the representation of the body as a *vessel* or *tabernacle* of the soul, images so beautifully adapted for expressing the purest doctrines of Christianity, as none other at that time could be, all have been found to belong to this philosophy, and have thus lost the obscurity wherewith they used to be reproached.

But to come to one particular sect or modification of this system; a curious elucidation has been obtained of a difficult portion of the New Testament, by our acquaintance with a sect of Gnostics yet existing, but of whom little or nothing was

* John iii. 3.

† See the author's "Lectures on the Real Presence," *Lond.* 1836, p. 95. See Windischmann's "Philosophie," etc. p. 558.

‡ In the "Miscellanea Hafnensia," tom. i. *Copenhag.* 1816 p. 20.

known till the end of the last century. From a small treatise, of no great celebrity, published above a hundred years ago by F. Ignatius à Jesu, a missionary in Asia, Europe first became acquainted with a semi-Christian sect, settled chiefly in the neighborhood of Bassora, evidently descended from the ancient Gnostics, but having a peculiar veneration for St. John the Baptist.* They are called Nasareans, Sabians, Mendeans, or disciples of John. The last is the name they give themselves. Evidence is not wanting to prove that they have existed from the earliest ages; and the whole of their belief is grounded upon the oriental philosophy, the system of emanations from the Deity. Prof. Norberg was the first who made this strange religion better known, by publishing, not many years ago, their sacred book, the Codex Adam, or Codex Nasaræus.† It is written in a peculiar character and dialect of very corrupt Syriac, and is extremely difficult to be understood. Their principal work, which Norberg so much desired to see published, is yet inedited. It is an immense roll covered with curious figures, and is called their Divan. The original copy is in the Museum of the Propaganda; from this I have had two fac-similes made, whereof one is in my possession, and I have brought it for your inspection;

* Ignatius à Jesu, "Narratio originis et errorum Christianorum S. Johannis."

† "Codex Nasaræus liber Adami appellatus," tom. i. *Hafniæ*. No date.

the other I have deposited in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

It had been well known that St. John, in his writings, entirely attacked Gnostic sects, principally those known by the name of Ebionites, and Cerinthians. This circumstance explained many expressions otherwise obscure, and led us to understand why he so constantly insisted upon the reality of Christ's being in the flesh. It was evident that the first chapter of his gospel contained a series of aphorisms directly opposed to their tenets. For instance, as these Gnostics maintained the existence of many Æons, or emanated beings inferior to God, one of which they called "the Word," and another "the only begotten:" another "the light," etc.; and asserted the world to have been created by a malignant spirit; St. John overthrows all these opinions, by showing that only *One* was born from the Father, who was at once light, the word, and the only begotten, and by whom all things were made.*

But there were other things in this sublime prologue, not so easily explained. Why is the inferiority of the Baptist so much insisted upon? why are we told that *he* was not the light, but only a witness to the light; and why is this twice repeated? Why are we told that he was a mere man? These reiterated assertions must have been directed against some existing opinions,

* St Irenæus "Adv Hæres." lib. i. c. i. § 20.

which required confutation as much as the others: yet we knew of no sect that could appear to have suggested them. The publication of the Sabian books has, to all appearance, solved the difficulty.

When the Codex Nasaræus was first published, several learned men applied its expressions to the illustration of St. John's gospel. The evidence for this application was at first considered strong,* but was afterwards, particularly, if I remember right, by Hug, rejected as of small weight. Still, on looking over the book, I think we cannot fail to be struck with opinions, manifestly ancient, which seem exactly kept in view by the Apostle, in the introduction to his gospel. First, the marked distinction between light and life; secondly, the superiority of John the Baptist to Christ; thirdly, the identification of John with "the light."

The first of these errors was common, perhaps, to other Gnostic sects; but in the Codex Nasaræus, we have the two especially distinguished as different beings. In it the first emanation from God, is the king of light; the second, fire; the third, water; and the fourth, life.† Now, this error St. John rejects in the fourth verse, where he says, "and the light was life." The second error, that John was superior to Christ, forms the fundamental principle of this sect. Its members are called *Mende Jahia*, disciples of John, from

* Michaelis, "Introduction," vol. iii. p 285, *seqq*

† Norberg, p. viii.

this very circumstance. And an Arabic letter from the Maronite Patriarch in Syria, published, by Norberg, tells us that they worship John before Christ,* whom they carefully distinguish from "the life." In the third place they identify John with "the light." These two last errors will be at once brought home to them by one passage, which I take without selection, upon opening the book. "Going forward and coming to the prison of Jesus, the Messiah, I asked, 'Whose place of confinement is this?' I was answered, 'It overshadows those who have denied the life, and followed the Messiah.'"† The Messiah is then supposed to address the narrator in these words: "Tell us thy name, and show us thy mark, which thou receivedst from the water, the treasure of splendor, and the great baptism of the *Light*." And on seeing the mark, the Messiah adores him four times.‡ After this, the souls that are with him ask permission to return into the body, for three days, that they may be baptized in the Jordan, "in the name of this man who has passed above him."§ Here, then, we have John and his baptism superior to Christ; the Messiah distinguished from "the light," and the baptism of John called "the baptism of the Light." Now, we can hardly fail to observe how pointedly the evangelist contradicts every one of these blas-

* Notes to the Preface. † Tom. ii. p. 9.

‡ *Ib.* p. 11.

§ *Ibd.* p. 13. "In nomine hujus viri qui te præteriit.

phemous opinions, when he tells us, that in Christ "was life;" that John "was not the light, but only a witness to it" (vv. 7. 8); and that John was inferior to Christ, according to his own testimony. And on this point, the very words of the gospel seem selected to meet the error. "John beareth witness, and crieth out, saying: 'This was he of whom I spake, *He that shall come after me shall be preferred before me*, because he was before me'"—(v. 15).

That the opinions of this strange sect have been much changed in the lapse of ages, we have every reason to suppose; but their conformity to the Gnostic system, and some historical evidence, prove that the religion is not modern; indeed, it seems to have sprung from those who only received the baptism of John. At any rate, the publication of these documents, and our better acquaintance with this sect, have shown opinions to have existed among the Gnostics, exactly corresponding to the errors condemned by St. John. Expressions, which before were unintelligible, have thus become clear; and the series of apparently unconnected propositions, or axioms, which compose his proeme, and which seemed unnecessarily to insist upon points to us of little interest, have been shown to point at blasphemous doctrines confuted in the gospel.

Another example of a difficulty being cleared away, by our becoming acquainted, in modern times, with the opinions of an oriental sect, may

be drawn from the Samaritan literature. This sect sprung from the Jews, in part at least, at an early period of their history; and acknowledged, as is well known, no sacred books but those of Moses. Their religious hatred to the Jews was violent; and as they never could be united together in friendship, so does it appear improbable that one sect would have ever borrowed opinions from the other. In the fourth chapter of St. John, a Samaritan woman professes her belief that a Messiah would speedily come (v. 25); and afterwards the inhabitants of the city publicly avow the same expectation (vv. 39, 42). Does not this seem highly improbable? For, surely, the Pentateuch alone could hardly have furnished grounds for so rooted and general a belief. This difficulty increases when we reflect that the only passage in those books, which could appear to suggest the doctrine with sufficient clearness, is not interpreted by them of the Messiah. I allude to Deut. xviii. 15; "The Lord thy God shall raise up unto thee a prophet," etc., which Gesenius, in his essay on the theology of the Samaritans, has shown they do not apply at all to his coming.* And yet we have now every evidence that we can desire upon this point. For, the Samaritans, who are reduced to about thirty houses in Naplous, yet profess to expect such a Messiah under the name of Hathab. In the last century, a correspondence

* "De Samaritanorum Theologia." *Halæ*, 1822, p. 45.

was entered into with them, for the purpose of clearing up this question; it was published by Schnurrer,* and the result is precisely such as we could desire, to confirm the gospel narrative. This conclusion has been still further illustrated by the Samaritan poems in the Bodleian library, which Gesenius has published. For in them the expectation of a Messiah seems clearly expressed.† Thus, then, is an important illustration obtained by our modern acquaintance with the doctrines of this remnant of the Samaritans, for a passage otherwise presenting some difficulty.

Having seen the influence exercised by foreign philosophy upon the expressions, and consequently upon the explanation, of Scripture, let us turn the tables, and see if from this we can throw any light upon the philosophy of other oriental nations, and thereby remove objections made against our re-

* "Eichhorns Biblisches Repertorium," ix. Th. S. 27. There had been other similar correspondences between the few remaining Samaritans, and Scaliger, Ludolf, and the University of Oxford. See De Sacy, "Mémoire sur l'état actuel des Samaritains," p. 47.

† "Carmina Samaritana e codicibus Londinensibus et Gothanis," *Lips.* 1824, p. 75. On the objections made by several reviewers, Gesenius is not disposed to enforce the allusion to the Messiah in this verse, and allows that it may be differently interpreted. But, knowing that the word there used, *Hathab*, "the convertor," is the Samaritan name for the Messiah, there seems no reason to depart from his original interpretation. At any rate, his commentary places our proofs of the expectations of a Redeemer among the Samaritans upon a more secure footing than it had before.

ligion; and by this course we shall return to the oriental philosophy, from which we have somewhat wandered.

An extraordinary resemblance had been discovered between some of the most mysterious dogmas of Christianity, and expressions found in this philosophy. Some traces of a belief in a Trinity, you are probably aware, may be found in Plato's celebrated epistle to Dionysius of Syracuse. Philo, Proclus, Sallustius the philosopher, and other Platonists, contain still clearer indications of such a belief. It was agreed that it could only be derived from the oriental philosophy, in which every other dogma of Platonism is to be discovered.

The progress of Asiatic research placed this supposition beyond controversy. The *Oupnekhat*, a Persian compilation of the Vedas, translated and published by Anquetil Duperron, contains many passages in still clearer unison with Christian doctrines than the hints of the Greek philosophers. I will only quote two from the digest of this work, made by Count Lanjuinais: "The *word* of the Creator is itself the Creator, and the great *Son* of the Creator."—"*Sat*" (that is, truth) "is the name of God, and God is *trabrat*, that is, three making only one."*

From all these coincidences, nothing more ought

* "Journal Asiatique," *Par.* 1823, tom, iii. pp. 15, 83. The name Oupnekhat, is a corruption of the Indian Upanishad.

to be deduced, than that primeval traditions on religious doctrines had been preserved among different nations. But instead of this conclusion being drawn, they were eagerly seized by the adversaries of Christianity, and used as hostile weapons against its divine origin. Dupuis collected every passage which could make the resemblance more marked, not even neglecting the suspicious works of Hermes Trismegistus, and concluded that Christanity was only an emanation of the Philosophical school which had flourished in the East, long before its divine Founder appeared.*

But if one did borrow this doctrine from another, it must now be acknowledged that the very research, which extended still further this connection between the different philosophic schools of the East and West, has discovered the stock from which they all originally descended. China, too, is now proved to have possessed its Platonic school; and the doctrines of its founder, Laotseu, bear too marked a resemblance to the opinions of the Academy, not to be considered an offspring of the same parent. The early missionaries had presented the public with some extracts from his writings and some account of his life. The former, however, were incomplete, the latter was mixed with fable. To Abel-Rémusat we are indebted for a satisfactory and highly interesting memoir

* "Origine de tous les Cultes." *Paris*, l'an III. vol. v p. 283, *seqq.*

upon both.* Not only are the leading principles of Platonism expressed in his works, but verbal coincidences have been traced in them by this learned orientalist, which cannot be explained without admitting some connecting link between the Athenian and Chinese sages.† The doctrine of a Trinity is too clearly expounded in his writings to be misunderstood; but in one passage it is expressed in terms of a most interesting character.

"That for which you look, and which you see not, is called *I:* that towards which you listen, yet hear not, is called Hi (the letter H): what your hand seeks, and yet feels not, is called Wei (the letter V). These three are inscrutable, and being united, form only one. Of them the superior is not more bright, nor the inferior more obscure ..... This is what is called form without form, image without image, an indefinable Being! Precede it, and yet find not its beginning; follow it, and ye discover not its end."‡

It is not necessary to comment at any length upon this extraordinary passage, which obviously contains the same doctrine which I have quoted from other works. I need only remark, with Abel-Rémusat, that the extraordinary name given to this Triune essence, is composed of the three

* "Mémoire sur la Vie et les Opinions de Lao-tseu, philosophe Chinois du VI, siècle avant notre ère, qui a professé les opinions communément attribuées à Pythagore, à Platon, et à leurs disciples.' *Paris*, 1823

† See pp. 24, 27. ‡ P. 40.

letters, I H V; for the syllables expressed in the Chinese have no meaning in that language, and are, consequently, representative of the mere letters. It is, therefore, a foreign name, and we shall seek for it in vain anywhere except among the Jews. Their ineffable name, as it was called, which we pronounce Jehovah, is to be met, variously distorted, in the mysteries of many heathen nations; but in none less disfigured than in this passage of a Chinese philosopher. Indeed, it could not have been possibly expressed in his language in any manner more closely approaching to the original.*

The learned French orientalist is far from seeing any improbability in this etymology. On the contrary, he endeavors to support it by historical arguments. He examines the traditions, often disguised under fables, which yet exist among the followers of Lao-tseu; and concludes, that the long journey which he made into the West, can only have taken place before the publication of his doctrines. He does not hesitate to suppose that his philosophical journey may have extended as far as Palestine; but though he should have wandered no further than Persia, the captivity of

* Ἰαω is probably the Greek form approaching nearest to the true pronunciation of the Hebrew name. Even pronouncing the Chinese word according to its syllables, I-hi-wei, we have a nearer approach to the Hebrew, Ie-ho-wa, as the oriental Jews rightly pronounce it, than in the Chinese word Chi-li-su-tu-su to its original *Christus*.

the Jews, which had just taken place, would have given him opportunities of communing with them.* Another singular coincidence of his history is, that he was nearly contemporary with Pythagoras, who travelled into the East to learn the same doctrine; and perhaps brought to his own country the same mysteries.

With these conclusions of Abel-Rémusat, authors agree, of no mean name, whether we consider this a question of philosophy or philology. Windischmann, whom I have before quoted, and of whom I shall have occasion again to speak, seems to consider the grounds given by Abel-Rémusat for his opinion, as worthy of great consideration.† Klaproth, in like manner, defends his interpretation against Pauthier's strictures; observing that, though he does not think it probable that the name Jehovah is to be found in Chinese, he sees no impossibility in the idea, and maintains that his learned friend's interpretation has not been solidly answered.‡

This instance renders it sufficiently probable,

* "Effectivement, si l'on veut examiner les choses sans préjugé, il n'y a pas d'invraisemblance à supposer, qu'un philosophe Chinois ait voyagé dès le VIe siècle avant notre ère, dans la Perse ou dans la Syrie" (p. 13). One tradition among his followers is, that, before his birth, his soul had wandered into the kingdoms west of Persia.

† "Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte," Erst. Th. *Bonn*, 1827, p. 404.

‡ "Mémoire sur l'Origine et la Propagation de la Doctrine du Tao," p. 29.

that, if any connection be admitted between the doctrines delivered to the Jews, and those which resemble them in other ancient nations, these derived them from the depositories of revealed truths. It satisfies us, that in other instances similar communications may have taken place; and there is an end to the scoffing objections of such writers as I before quoted, that Christian dogmas were drawn from heathen philosophy.

Let us now, after these partial applications, look at the general progress made by one branch of research in Oriental philosophy, which long used to be employed as a formidable weapon against Scripture. You will remember how the Hindoo astronomy and chronology, exaggerated to an excessive degree, were found to have come down wonderfully in their pretensions, and that I reserved for this place the examination into the age of philosophical literature in India. I need not say, that the unbelievers of the last century did not confer a more reasonable antiquity on those sacred books of the Indians, wherein are contained their philosophical and religious systems, and which are well known by the name of the Vedas: in fact, so extravagant an antiquity was attributed to them, that the writings of Moses were represented as modern works in comparison with them. It must, therefore, be a matter of some interest to ascertain how far this opinion has been confirmed or confuted by the great progress made in our acquaintance with Sanscrit literature.

The first consideration which must strike us, is, that works of this character are the most easy to invest with appearances of age; since a certain simplicity of manner, and mysticism of thought, will lead the mind to attribute to them an antiquity which cannot be tested, as in the other branches of literature or science, by dates or scientific observations. But, at the same time, we may further remark, that when other portions of a nation's literature have been proved, in spite of high pretensions, to be comparatively modern, any other class which shared their unmerited honors, may also, with great show of justice, be made partaker of their degradation, and condemned to aspire no higher than its associates. Thus, therefore, the moral philosophy of the Hindoos, having been considered a part of the very ancient literature of India, may well, in part at least, yield to those investigations which have deprived the rest of its fancied antiquity.

But specific researches have not been wanting; and they present much more detailed and striking results. And first, let us take the extreme most favorable to our opponents. The authority of Colebrooke well be considered perfectly competent to decide questions connected with Sanscrit literature; and he certainly has never shown a disposition to underrate its importance and value. Now he takes, as the basis of his calculations, the astronomical knowledge displayed in the Vedas: and concludes from such data as it presents, that

they were not composed earlier than fourteen hundred years before Christ.* This, you will say, is a great antiquity; but, after all, it does not go back, by nearly two hundred years, to the age of Moses, and the time when the arts had reached their maturity in Egypt.

There is a more recent investigation into this question, which seems to me still more remarkable for its results, no less than interesting from the character of its author. This is Dr. Frederick Windischmann, whom I have a real delight in calling my friend, not merely on account of his brilliant talents, and his profound acquaintance with Sanscrit literature and philology, but far more on account of qualities of a higher order, and of a more endearing character, and for virtues which will be one day an ornament to the ecclesiastical state to which he has devoted his future life. Free from the remotest idea of either exaggerating or diminishing the antiquity of these books, which he has minutely studied, he has ingeniously collected all the data which they afford for deciding their true age. Now, what strikes us particularly in his investigation, is, how manifestly the struggle of Sanscrit philologers now is to prevent their favorite literature being depressed too low, and how, instead of claiming, on its behalf, in the spirit of older writers, an unnatural term of ages, they contend with eager

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. vii. p. 284.

ness, to have it raised to a reasonable period before the Christian era. The course of argument followed by my amiable young friend, is simply this. The Institutes of Menu appear, from internal evidence, to have been drawn up before the custom of self-immolation was prevalent, at least completely, throughout the peninsula of the Ganges. As we learn from Grecian writers of the time of Alexander, that this rite was then practised, this work must have been composed anterior to that age. Now the Institutes suppose the existence of the Vedas, which are therein quoted, and said to have been composed by Brahmah.* The argument, as thus stated, does injustice to the great acquaintance manifested by the young author with the minutiæ of the language and the contents of these sacred volumes. Every position is supported by a profusion of erudition, which few can fully appreciate. The same must be said of the remainder of his arguments, which principally consists in proving, by philological disquisitions, interesting only to the initiated, that the style of the Vedas is much more ancient than that of any other work in the language.† Still the conclusions to which he comes are noways definite; they allot a high antiquity to the Vedas, but not such as can startle the most apprehensive mind.

* "Frederici Henr. Hug. Windischmanni Sancara, sive de Theologumenis Vedanticorum." *Bonnæ*, 1833, p. 52.

† Pp. 58, *seqq.*

After doing so little justice to this learned author, I fear it is less in my power to render a proper tribute to the labors of his father, whose reputation in Europe, as a philosopher, must raise him above the necessity of any preliminary remarks from me; especially as, in making them, I should certainly appear to be carried away by my feelings towards him, as an admiring and revering friend. The work of this extensive and profound scholar, which I have already quoted to-day, has arranged, in the most scientific and complete manner, all that we know of Indian philosophy. He does not so much consider it chronologically, as inquire into its internal and natural development, and endeavor to trace through every part of the systems which compose it, the principles which animated it, and pervaded all its elements. Now, in this form of investigation, which requires at once a vast accumulation of facts, and an intellectual energy, that can plunge into their chaos, and separate the light from the darkness, Windischmann has been, beyond all other writers, successful. The epochs of the Brahmanic system, he examines by the doctrines and principles which they contain; and his results are such as, while tney attribute great antiquity to the Indian books, bring them forward as confirmatory evidence of what is described in the inspired records. For the earliest epoch or period of Brahmanic philosophy exhibits, according to him, the exact counterpart

of the patriarchal times as described in the Pentateuch.*

But there is another author of deserved reputation among the historians of philosophy, who is far from being disposed to admit the claims or the arguments advanced by Orientalists in favor of this high antiquity. Ritter, professor in the University of Berlin, has sifted, with great acuteness, all that has been advanced on its behalf. The astronomical reasonings, or rather conjectures, of Colebrooke, he rejects, as not amounting to any positive or calculable data; † and he is inclined to concede very little more force to the arguments drawn from the apparent antiquity of Indian monuments, or the perfection of the Sanscrit language. For, he observes, the taste for colossal monuments is not necessarily so ancient, seeing that some have been erected in comparatively modern days: and language receives its characteristic perfection often at one moment, and cannot form a sure criterion of antiquity, unless relatively considered by epochs discoverable within itself.‡ The entire reasoning pursued by Ritter, tends more to throw down the supposed antiquity of Indian philosophy, than to build up any new theory. However, his conclusion is, that the commencement of true systematic philosophy

* "Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschicte," Zweites Buch. pp. 690, *seqq.*

† "Geschichte der Philosophie," 1 Th. *Hamburg,* 1829 p. 60. ‡ P. 62.

must not be dated further back than the reign of Vikramaditja, about a century before the Christian era.*

Before quitting the subject of Indian philosophical works, I will give you an example of the facility with which men, who take pride in being called unbelievers, swallowed any assertion which seemed hostile to Christianity. In the last century, an Indian work, extremely Christian in its doctrines, was published by Ste. Croix, under the title of the *Ezour Vedam*.† Voltaire pounced upon it, as a proof that the doctrines of Christianity were borrowed from the heathens, and pronounced it a work of immense antiquity, composed by a Brahman of Seringham.‡ Now, hear the history of this marvellous work.

When Sir Alex. Johnston was Chief Justice in Ceylon, and received a commission to draw up a code of laws for the natives, he was anxious to consult the best Indian works, and, among the rest, to ascertain the genuineness of the Ezour Vedam. He therefore made diligent search in the southern provinces, and inquired at the most celebrated pagodas, particularly that of Seringham; but all in vain. He could learn no tidings of the Brahman, nor of the work which he was said to have composed. Upon his arrival at

* Pp. 120, 124.

† "Ezour Vedam, ou ancien Commentaire du Vedam." *Yverdun*, 1728.

‡ "Siècle de Louis XV."

Pondicherry, he obtained permission from the governor, Count Dupuis, to examine the manuscripts in the Jesuits' library, which had not been disturbed since they left India. Among them he discovered the Ezour Vedam, in Sanscrit and French. It was diligently examined by Mr. Ellis, principal of the College at Madras; and his inquiry led to the satisfactory discovery, that the original Sanscrit was composed in 1621, entirely for the purpose of promoting Christianity, by the learned and pious missionary, Robert de Nobilibus, nephew of Card. Bellarmin, and near relative to Pope Marcellus II.*

From philosophy, we may now proceed to examine what has been done for religion by the progress of Oriental history; and I shall content myself with one or two examples.

The thirty-ninth chapter of Isaiah informs us that Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, sent an embassy to Ezekiah, king of Judah. This king of Babylon makes no other appearance in sacred history; and even this one is attended with no considerable difficulty. For, the kingdom of the Assyrians was yet flourishing, and Babylon was only one of its dependencies. Only nine years before, Salmanassar, the *Assyrian* monarch, is said to have transported the inhabitants of *Babylon* to other parts;† and Manasses, not many

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. xiv. "British Catholic Colonial Intelligencer." No. ii. *Lond.* 1834, p. 163.

† 2 (4) Reg. vii. 24.

years after, was carried captive to *Babylon* by the king of *Assyria*.* Again, the prophet Micheas, about this very period, speaks of the Jews being carried away to Babylon, while the Assyrians are mentioned as the enemies whom they have principally to fear. †

All these instances incontestably prove, that at the time of Ezekiah, Babylon was dependent on the Assyrian kings. Who, then, was this Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon? If he was only governor of that city, how could he send an embassy of congratulation to the Jewish sovereign, then at war with his liege lord? The canon of Ptolemy gives us no king of this name, nor does his chronology appear reconcilable with sacred history.

In this darkness and doubt we must have continued, and the apparent contradiction of this text to other passages would have remained inexplicable, had not the progress of modern Oriental study brought to light a document of the most venerable antiquity. This is nothing less than a fragment of Berosus, preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius. The publication of this work, in a perfect state, from its Armenian version, first made us acquainted with it ;‡ and Gesenius, whom I have so often quoted as opposed to us in opinion, I have now the pleasure of citing, as the

* 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

† Mic. iv. 10; cf. v. 5, 6.

‡ "Eusebii Chronicon" *Venet.* 1818, tom. i. p. 42.

author to whose ingenuity we owe its application.*

This interesting fragment informs us that after Sennacherib's brother had governed Babylon, as Assyrian viceroy, Acises unjustly possessed himself of the supreme command. After thirty days he was murdered by Merodach-Baladan, who usurped the sovereignty for six months, when he in his turn was killed, and succeeded by Elibus. But after three years, Sennacherib collected an army, gave the usurper battle, conquered and took him prisoner. Having once more reduced Babylon to his obedience, he left his son Assordan, the Essarhaddon of Scripture, as governor of that city.

There is only one apparent discrepancy between this historical fragment and the Scripture narrative; for the latter relates the murder of Sennacherib, and the succession of Essarhaddon before Merodach-Baladan's embassy to Jerusalem.† But to this Gensenius has well replied, that this arrangement is followed by the prophet, in order to conclude the history of the Assyrian monarch, which has no further connection with his subject, so as not to return to it again.

By this order also, the prophecy of his murder is more closely connected with the history of its fulfilment.‡ But this solution, which supposes

* "Commentar über den Jesaia," Erst. Th. 2 Abth. pp. 909, *seqq.*

† Isaiah xxxvii. 38.

‡ Isaiah xxxvii. 7.

some interval to have elapsed between Sennacherib's return Niniveh and his death, is rendered probable by the words of the text itself,—"He went and returned *and abode in Niniveh;* and it came to pass," etc.; and moreover becomes certain from chronological arguments. For it is certain, that Sennacherib's expedition into Egypt must have been made in his first or second year (714 B. C.); since the twentieth chapter of Isaiah mentions Sargon as reigning just before that event (716). Now, according to Berosus, at the conclusion of the above-quoted fragment, Sennacherib reigned eighteen years before he was murdered by his sons. He must therefore have survived, by many years, his return to Niniveh.* The account of Berosus, that the Babylonian revolt happened in the reign of Sennacherib, is thus nowise at variance with the sacred text; and this only difficulty being once removed, the fragment clears up every possible objection to its accuracy.

For we have it perfectly explained how there was a king, or rather a usurper, in Babylon, at a time when it was in reality a provincial city of the Assyrian empire. Nothing was more probable than that Merodach-Baladan, having seized the throne, should endeavor to unite himself in league and amity with the enemies of his master, against whom he had revolted. Ezekiah, who, no less than himself, had thrown off the Assyrian yoke,†

* "Gensenius," p. 1002; cf. the Table, 2 Th. p. 560.

† 2 (4) Reg. xviii. 7.

and was in powerful alliance with the king of Egypt, would be his first resource. No embassy, on the other hand, could be more welcome to the Jewish monarch, who had the common enemy in his neighborhood, and would be glad to see a diversion made in his favor, by a rebellion in the very heart of that enemy's kingdom.* Hence arose that excessive attention which he paid to the envoys of the usurper, and which so offended the prophet Isaiah, or rather God, who through him foretold, in consequence, the Babylonian captivity.†

Another instance of the advantage which the progress of Oriental historical research may bring to matters of religious interest, is afforded us by the light lately thrown upon the religious worship of Thibet. When Europe first became acquainted with this worship, it was impossible not to be struck with the analogies it presented to the religious rites of Christians. The hierarchy of the Lamis, their monastic institutes, their churches, and ceremonies, resembled ours with such minuteness, that some connection between the two seemed necessarily to have existed. "The early missionaries were satisfied with considering Lamaism as a sort of degenerate Christianity, and as a remnant

* From what has been said in the text, it appears probable that the revolt in Babylon took place during Sennacherib's expedition against Judea and Egypt.

† Isaiah xxxix. 2, 5.

of those Syrian sects which once had penetrated into those remote parts of Asia."*

But there have been others who have turned this resemblance to very different purposes. "Frequent mysterious assertions and subdued hints, in the works of learned men," says a lamented orientalist, to whose memoir on this subject I shall have to refer just now, "led many to doubt whether the Lamaic theocracy was a remnant of Christian sects, or, on the contrary, the ancient and primitive model, on which were traced similar establishments in other parts of the world. Such were the views taken in the notes to Father D'Andrada's Journey, to the French translations of Thunberg and of the *Asiatic Researches*, and in many other modern works where irreligion has sought to conceal itself under a superficial and lying erudition."† "These resemblances," says Malte-Brun, "were turned into arguments against the divine origin of Christianity."‡ In fact, we find these analogies affording matter for peculiar merriment to Volney.§

At first these objections were only met by negative answers. It was well argued by Fischer, that no writer anterior to the thirteenth century

* Abel-Rémusat, "Aperçu d'un Mémorie intitulé Recherches chronologiques sur l'Origine de la Hiérarchie Lamaique," reprinted in the "Mélanges Asiatiques," *Paris*, 1825 vol. i. p. 129.

† *Ib.* note 2. "Mélanges," p. 132.

‡ "Précis de la Géographie universelle," *Paris*, 1812, vol. iii. p. 581.

§ "Ruines," *Paris*, 1820, p. 428.

gives a hint of the existence of this system, nor could any proof be brought of its antiquity. But it had been the fashion to attribute an extravagant date to all the institutions of central Asia, upon the strength of plausible conjecture. The venerable age given to this religious establishment was in perfect accordance with Bailly's scientific hypotheses regarding the same country, and formed a natural counterpart to the romantic system which made the mountains of Siberia, or the steppes of Tartary, the cradle of philosophy. Since that period the languages and literature of Asia have made a wide step; and the consequence has been, the thorough confutation of these extravagant hypotheses from the works of native writers.

Abel-Rémusat is once more the author to whom we are indebted for this valuable exposition. In an interesting memoir, he has made us acquainted with a valuable fragment preserved in the *Japanese Encyclopædia*, and containing the true history of the Lamaic hierarchy. Without this, we should perhaps have been forever left to vague conjectures; with its assistance we are able to confute the unfounded, though specious, dreams of our assailants. The god Buddha was originally supposed to be perpetuated upon earth in the person of his Indian patriarchs. His soul was transfused in succession, into a new representative chosen from any caste; and so confident was the trustee of his divinity, that he possessed an amulet against destruction, that he usually evaded the

sufferings of age, by ascending a funeral pile, whence, like the phœnix, he hoped to rise into a new life. In this state the god remained till the fifth century of our era, when he judged it prudent to emigrate from Southern India, and fix his residence in China. His representative received the title of *preceptor of the kingdom*; but only added, like the later khalifs at Bagdad, a religious splendor to the court of the celestial empire.

In this precarious condition the succession of sacred chiefs was continued for eight more centuries, till, in the thirteenth, the house of Tchingkis-khan delivered them from their dependence, and invested them with dominion. Voltaire has said that Tchingkis-khan was too good a politician to disturb the spiritual kingdom of the grand Lama in Thibet;* and yet, neither did a kingdom then exist in Thibet, nor did the high priest of Shamanism yet reside there, nor was the name of Lama yet an appellation. For, it was the grandson of the conqueror thirty-three years after him, who first bestowed sovereignty on the head of his religion; and, as the living Buddha happened to be a native of Thibet, that country was given him for his government. This was the mountain of Pootala, or Botala,† made the capital of this religious

* "Philosophie de l'Histoire; Essai sur les Mœurs." Abel-Rémusat, p. 137.

† See the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique," *Oct.* 1829, p 273, note 1.

kingdom, and the term *Lama*, which signifies a priest, first applied as distinctive title to its ruler.

This account of the origin of the Lamaic dynasty accords perfectly with another interesting document lately brought before the public. This is a description of Thibet, translated from the Chinese into Russian, by the Archimandrite, F. Hyacinth Pitchourinsky;* and from the Russian into French, with corrections upon the original, by Julis Klaproth.† From this document we learn that Tchingkis-khan overran that country, and established a government which comprised Thibet and its dependencies. The emperor Khoubilai, seeing the difficulty of governing this distant country, devised a method for rendering it submissive, which was conformable to the usages of the people. "He divided the country of the *Thoupho* into provinces and districts; appointed officers of different degrees, and subjected them to the authority of the *Ti-szu* (preceptor of the emperor). At that time, *Bhâchbah*, or *Pagba*, a native of Sarghia, in Thibet, held this office. At the age of seven years he had read all the sacred books, and comprehended their most sublime ideas, for which reason he was called the *spiritual child*. In 1260 he received the title of *king of the great and precious law*, and a seal of oriental jasper. Besides these, he was invested with the dignity of *chief*

* St. Petersburg, 1828.

† In the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique," *Aug.* and *Oct.* 1829.

of the yellow religion. His brothers, his children, and descendants, have enjoyed eminent posts at court, and have received seals of gold and oriental jasper. The court received Bhâchbah with distinction, entertained towards him a superstitious faith, and neglected nothing which could contribute to make him respected."*

At the time when the Buddhist patriarchs first established themselves in Thibet, that country was in immediate contact with Christianity. Not only had the Nestorians ecclesiastical settlements in Tartary, but Italian and French religious men visited the court of the Khans, charged with important missions from the Pope and St. Lewis of France. They carried with them church ornaments and altars, to make, if possible, a favorable impression on the minds of the natives. For this end, they celebrated their worship in presence of the Tarter princes, by whom they were permitted to erect chapels within the precincts of the royal palaces. An Italian Archbishop, sent by Clement V., established his see in the capital, and erected a church, to which the faithful were summoned by the sound of three bells, and where they beheld many sacred pictures painted on the walls.†

Nothing was easier than to induce many of the various sects which crowded the Mongul court to admire and adopt the rites of this religion. Some members of the imperial house secretly embraced

* "Nouveau Journal Asiatique," *August*, 1829, p. 119.

† Abel-Rémusat, p. 138. Compare Assemani, *inf. cit.*

Christianity, many mingled its practices with the profession of their own creeds, and Europe was alternately delighted and disappointed by reports of imperial conversions and by discoveries of their falsehood.* It was such a rumor as this, in reference to Manghu, that caused the missions of Rubriquis and Ascellino. Surrounded by the celebration of such ceremonies, hearing from the ambassadors and missionaries of the West accounts of the worship and hierarchy of their countries, it is no wonder that the religion of the Lamas, just beginning to assume splendor and pomp, should have adopted institutions and practices already familiar to them, and already admired by those whom they wished to gain. The coincidence of time and place, the previous non-existence of that sacred monarchy, amply demonstrate that the religion of Thibet is but an attempted imitation of ours.

It is not my province to follow the learned academician in the later history of this religious dynasty. It has continued in dependence on the Chinese sovereigns till our days, at one and the same time revered and persecuted, adored and oppressed. But its claims to antiquity are forfeited for ever, and its pretensions as a rival, still more as the parent of Christianity, have been fully examined and rejected.

* "Assemani Biblioth. Orient." tom. iii. part ii. pp. cccd. xxx. *seqq.* "Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori Veneziani più illustri Dissertazioni del P. Ab (afterwards Cardinal) Zurla," *Ven.* 1818, vol. i. p. 287.

I have prolonged my disquisition so far, that I must forego the many reflections which its subject might well suggest. But it would be unjust to take leave of it without alluding to the proud pre-eminence which our country is taking in the prosecution of these studies; and if our education have not qualified us, like our continental neighbors, for such deep research into the abstruser parts of Asiatic literature, we are at least learning to contribute those vast means which Providence has placed at our disposal, towards bringing to light much which otherwise would have remained concealed. It would, indeed, be disgraceful to us, if, in after-ages, the history of all our colonies should present to the inquiring philosopher only pages ruled into balances of imports and exports, and statements of annual returns to our national coffers; or, if the annals of our mighty empire in India should present nothing better than a compound establishment of commercial and military agents, passing through varied scenes of mercantile warfares and kingly speculations. It is, indeed, an honor to our national character, and the greatest proof of its moral energies, that so much has been done by those whose professions seemed necessarily at variance with literary and scientific pursuits; and and I know not whether the public discredit will not be hidden by the honor reflected from the personal merit of so many illustrious individuals. For posterity will not fail to observe, that while the French, in their Egyptian expedition, sent sci

entific and literary men to accompany their army, and bring home the monuments of that country, England has needed not to make such a distinction; but found among those who fought her battles and directed her military operations, men who could lay down the sword to take up the pen, and record for us every interesting monument, with as much sagacity and learning, as though letters had been their sole occupation.* But still there is a hope of a higher national feeling; and the foundation under royal patronage of the Committee for the translation of oriental works has already greatly increased our stock of oriental lore. It has interested in these pursuits those who otherwise could hardly have been led to patronize them; it has cheered many a scholar who otherwise would have drooped in silent obscurity; and it has encouraged many, who otherwise could not have felt the necessary strength,—

> "Eoam tentare fidem, populosque bibentes
> Euphratem—
> Medorum penetrare domos, Scythiosque recessus
> Arva super Cyri Chaldæique ultima regni,
> Qua rapidus Ganges, et qua Nyssæus Hydaspes
> Accedunt pelago." (*Lucan.* viii. 213.)

* The author's lamented friend, Colonel Tod, was among the number.

LECTURE THE TWELFTH;

CONCLUSION.

OBJECT of this Lecture.—Character of the confirmatory Evidence obtained through the entire course, arising from the variety of tests to which the truth of religion has been submitted. Confirmed from the nature of the facts examined, and of the authorities employed. Auguries thence resulting for the future.—Religion deeply interested in the progress of every science.—Opponents of this opinion. First, timid Christians; confutation of them by the ancient Fathers of the Church. Second, the enemies of religion, in former and in later times.—Duty of ecclesiastics to apply to study, with a view of meeting all objections; and of all Christians, in proportion to their ability.—Advantages, pleasure, and method of such pursuits.

I HAVE now accomplished the task on which I entered, encouraged by your kindness. I promised to pass through the history of several sciences, and to prove by that simple process how their progress has ever been accompanied by the accession of new light and splendor to the evidences of Christianity. I promised to treat my subject in the most unostentatious manner, to avoid such exemplifications as had already found their way

into elementary books upon the subject, and to draw my materials, as much as possible, from works which were not directed to a defence of Christianity.

And now having, to the best of my small ability, discharged my duty towards you, it may be given us to rest a little, and look back upon the course we have followed; or, like those who have journeyed together awhile, sit down at the end of our travel, and make a common reckoning of what we have therein gained. Our road may have seemed in part to lie over barren and uninteresting districts; I have led you through strait and toilsome ways, and perhaps sometimes have bewildered and perplexed you; but if, while we have kept company, you have to complain of having found but an unskilful guide, he in his turn may perchance rejoin that he has found but too much encouragement to prolong his wanderings, and too much indulgence to have easily discovered his going astray. But there has been sufficient variety, at least in the objects which have passed under our observation, to make compensation for the labors of our journey; and we have throughout it kept one great point in view, which sooner or later could always bring us back to our right track, and give a unity of character and uniformity of method to our most devious wanderings. And by looking for one moment upon this again, we shall be able, in a few moments, to run over the road through which our course hath led us.

And first, I may naturally be asked, what addition I consider myself to have made to the evidences of Christianity. Now, to this question I should reply with most measured reserve. I hold those evidences to be something too inwardly and deeply seated in the heart to have their sum increased or diminished easily by the power of outward considerations. However we may require and use such proofs of its truths, as learned men have ably collected, when reasoning with the opponents of Christianity, I believe no one is conscious of clinging to its sublime doctrines and its consoling promises, on the ground of such logical demonstration; even as an able theorist shall show you many cogent reasons, founded on the social and natural laws, why ye should love your parents, and yet both he and you know that not for those reasons have you loved them, but from a far holier and more inward impulse. And so, when we once have embraced true religion, its motives, or evidences, need not longer be sought in the reasonings of books; they become incorporated with our holiest affections; they result from our finding the necessity for our happiness, of the truths they uphold; in our there discovering the key to the secrets of our nature, the solution of all mental problems, the reconciliation of all contradictions in our anomalous condition, the answer to all the solemn questions of our restless consciousness.

Thus is religion like a plant, which drives its roots into the centre of the soul; having in them

fine and subtile fibres, that pierce and penetrate into the solidest framework of a well-built mind, and strong knotty arms that entangle themselves among the softest and purest of our feelings. And if without it also put forth shoots and tendrils innumerable, wherewith, as with hands, it apprehends and keeps hold of mundane and visible objects, it is rather for their benefit and ornament than from any want of such support; nor does it from them derive its natural and necessary vitality. Now, it is with this outward and luxurious growth, that our husbanding hath been chiefly engaged, rather than with its hidden foundations and roots; we have, perhaps, somewhat extended its beneficial connections; we have sometimes wound it round some decayed and neglected remnant of ancient grandeur; we have stretched it as a garland to some vigorous and youthful plant, and mingled the fruits of its holiness with less wholesome bearing, and we have seen how there is a comeliness and grace given to both, by the contact; how it may cast an interest and an honor and a beauty over what else were useless and profane. And we may also, by this partial tilling, have given to the plant itself some additional energy and power to strengthen.

In other words, these lectures have been mainly directed to watch the relation between the evidences of Christianity and other pursuits; to trace the influence which the necessary progress of these must have upon the illustration of the former.

With the true internal proofs of the Christian religion, we have not dealt: but, by removing objections against the external form of manifestation in which this religion appears, and against the documents in which its proofs and doctrines are recorded, and against many of the specific events therein registered, we may in some measure hope that the native force of those grounds of evidence will be something increased and fitted for receiving a more powerful development in our minds. This consideration admits of many different views, and leads the way to many even more important conclusions, which will form the subject of this my last address. And first, I will say a few words upon the direct application of what has been hitherto treated, to the general evidences of Christianity, and to the vindication of those sacred documents whereby the principal evidences are authentically enforced.

The great difference between specious error and a system of truth, is, that the one may present certain aspects, under which, if viewed, it gives no appearance of fault; it is like a precious stone that has a flaw, but which may be so submitted to the eye, that the play of light, aided by an artful setting, may conceal it; but which, when only slightly turned, and viewed under another angle, discovers its defect. But truth is a gem which need not be enchased, which, faultless and cloudless, may be held up to the pure bright light, on any side, in any direction, and will everywhere display the

same purity, and soundness, and beauty. The one is an impure ore, that may resist the action of several re-agents brought to act upon it, but in the end yields before one of them: the other is as annealed gold, which defies the power of every successive test. Hence, the more numerous the points of contact which any system presents to other orders of intellectual or scientific research, the more opportunities it gives of assaying its worth; and assuredly, if it no ways suffer by their continued progress towards perfection on different sides, we must conclude, that it hath so deep a root in the eternal truth, as that nought created can affect its certainty. Nothing has been oftener attempted than the forgery of literary productions, but nothing has been more unfortunate. Where the author, like, perhaps, Synesius, has confined himself to philosophical speculation, which may have been the same in any age, it may be more difficult to decide on the imposture. But where history, jurisprudence, manners, or other outward circumstances enter into the plan of the work, it is almost impossible for it to succeed in long defeating the ingenuity of the learned. The most celebrated literary frauds of modern times, the history of Formosa, or still more, the Sicilian code of Vella, for a time perplexed the world, but were in the end discovered.

Now, such has been the object and tendency of our investigation, to examine the different phases which revealed religion presents, from the

reflected light of so many various pursuits; to see what are its aspect powers under the influence of such diversified powers, and thus ascertain how far it is capable of resisting the most complicated assay, and defying the most obstinate and most unfriendly examination. And surely we may say that no system has ever laid itself open more completely to detection, if it contained any error, than this of Christianity; no book ever gave so many clues to discovery, if it tell one untruth, than its sacred volume. In it we have recorded the earliest and the latest physical revolutions of our globe; the dispersion of the human race; the succession of monarchs in all surrounding countries, from the time of Sesostris to the Syrian kings; the habits and manners, and language of various nations; the great religious traditions of the human race; and the recital of many marvellous and miraculous events, not to be found in the annals of any other people. Had the tests whereby all these different ingredients were to be one day tried, existed when they were thus compounded together, some pains might have been taken to secure them against their action. But against the future, no skill, no ingenuity, could afford protection. Had the name of a single Egyptian Pharaoh been invented to suit convenience, as we see done by other oriental historians, the discovery of the hieroglyphic alphabet, after 3,000 years, would not have been one of the chances of detection against which the historian would have guarded. Had

the history of the creation, or of the deluge, been a fabulous or poetical fiction, the toilsome journeys of the geologist among Alpine valleys, or the discovery of hyenas' caves in an unknown island, would not be the confirmations of his theory, on which its inventor would have ever reckoned. A fragment of Berosus comes to light, and it proves, what seemed before incredible, to be perfectly true A medal is found, and it completes the reconciliation of apparent contradictions. Every science, every pursuit, as it makes a step, in its own natural onward progress, increases the mass of our confirmatory evidence.

Such, then, is the first important result which we have gained;—the acquisition of that powerful proof which a system receives from multiplied verifications. This proof will be greatly enhanced in value by a few obvious considerations. And first I would remark, that the sacred volume is not the work of one man, nor of one age, but is a compilation rather of the writings of many. Now, if one very skilful writer had attempted the task of forging the annals of a people, or of writing the fictitious biography of some distinguished person, or of drawing up imaginary systems of nature, or of describing from fancy the great events of her history, he might, by possibility, have guarded himself on every side against detection, and measured every phrase, so as to suit the specific purpose which he held in view. But to imagine, that during the 1600 years from Moses to St. John,

such a system could have been carried on, by a series of writers having no connection, of the most unequal abilities, writing—if we, for one moment, admit the impious hypothesis—under the most diverse influences, necessarily viewing the past and the future under different aspects, is to imagine a stranger combination of moral agents for an evil work than the world ever beheld. But this is not our present consideration. It is evident that the power could not have seconded the will to deceive, supposing this to have existed; the points of contact with other facts would have been too infinitely multiplied to fit exactly in every case: if we supposed Moses to have been accurately acquainted with the Egypt of his time, it would be improbable that every succeeding annalist should have possessed a similar acquaintance; if the opinions of his time, concerning the physical constitution of the world, were so accurate as to give no chance of their being falsified by modern discoveries, this would not have secured to Isaiah accuracy in recounting the affairs of Babylon. In fine, the greater the extent of time and territory, events and usages, embraced by the sacred Book, the greater the dangers of discovery, had it contained aught untrue or incorrect.

Secondly, we may remark that the points which our researches have verified have seldom been leading events, or the direct subject of which the inspired authors treated; but generally incidental, and almost parenthetic observations, or narratives,

on which they could hardly have expected much research to be made. The common origin of all mankind, or the miraculous dispersion of our race, are not matters paraded at length; but the former is left almost to inference, and the latter is recorded in the simplest manner. Yet we have seen what a long process of study has been required to bring out the proofs of these events, against the strong prepossessions of first appearances, and the boasted conclusions of ill-studied science. The various historical incidents, on which light has been shed by our modern application, are mostly episodes to the general narrative of Jewish domestic history; all are such passages as would have been penned with a less guarded hand, and with the smallest suspicion that they would be used for assaying the work. Yet even such passages as these have been searchingly assailed without any unfavorable result.

Thirdly, we might have been somewhat jealous of the experiment, had it been conducted exclusively by friends. But though these have labored much in the work of verification and illustration, the greater part has been done by two other classes of men, equally above suspicion. The first consists of those who have quietly conducted their studies, without intending at all to apply them to sacred purposes, or even suspecting that they would be so applied. The antiquarian, when he garners up, and then deciphers, a new coin, knows not till the process is complete, what

tidings from the olden world it will bear him. The orientalist pores over his defaced parchments, unable to conjecture what information it will give him of distant usages, till he has overcome its difficulties. Neither the one nor the other pursues his studies from a surmise that what he shall discover will prove of use to the theologian; no possible anticipation of mind could have led the learned Aucher to hope that a fragment of Berosus would be found in the Armenian version of Eusebius, which had been lost in the original; still less that such a fragment, if discovered, would disperse a difficulty which clouded an important narrative. Now, this has been essentially a portion, or rather a condition, of my plan, to have recourse chiefly to authors that have conducted their researches, without attention to any advantages thence accruing to Christian evidences.

But the second class of writers, to whom we are indebted for a large portion of our materials in this investigation, are removed a step further from all suspicion of partiality to our cause. You will naturally understand me to signify such as are decidedly hostile to our opinions. These, again, may be subdivided into two classes. The first may contain such writers as do not admit the conclusions which we draw from our premises, though they assist us in establishing them; or who do not impugn, though they admit not our belief. Thus, you have seen Klaproth deny the dispersion, and Virey the unity, of the human race, yet both

accumulating evidence of importance towards establishing these two points. Others have been pressed into our service much more unwillingly; for their ingenuity and talents have been exercised to combat the very propositions which I have endeavored to establish. Nay, the genius of Buffon seems to have been quickened by the idea that he was taking a bolder flight than men are wont to attempt, and striving to pass the limits of universal conviction. The miserable fragments then possessed of Hindoo astronomy never would have occupied the genius of the unfortunate Bailly, had not his eagerness been sharpened by the vain hope of thereby constructing a chronological scheme, more in accordance with the irreligious opinions of his party, than with the venerable belief of former ages. And yet the imagination of the former first devised the theory of a gradual cooling of the earth's mass, which now is considered by so many as a sufficient solution of the difficulties regarding the Deluge; and the latter may be said, by trying to reduce that astronomy to a scientific expression, to have laid the train for its total exposure.

These considerations must add greatly to the power of the argument proposed in these Lectures. For they must remove every suspicion that the authorities on which it is based have been carefully prepared by a friendly hand.

The first result of this reasoning is obvious; that every security which an endless variety of

tests, applied to a system without injuring it, can give us of its truth, the Christian religion, and its evidences, may justly boast. But this consequence has also an important prospective force, for it presents a ground of confidence for the future, such as no other form of argument could present. For, if all that has yet been done has tended to confirm our proofs, we surely have nothing to fear from what yet remains concealed. Had the first stages of every science been the most favorable to our cause, and had its further improvements diminished what we had gained, we might indeed be alarmed about any ulterior prosecution of learning. But seeing that the order of things is precisely the reverse, that the beginnings of sciences are least propitious to our desires, and their progress most satisfactory, we cannot but be convinced that future discoveries, far from weakening, must necessarily strengthen the evidences we possess.

And thus we come to form a noble and sublime idea of religion, to consider it as the great, fixed point round which the moral world revolves, while itself remains unchanged; or rather as the emblem of Him who gave it, the all-embracing medium in which every other thing moves, increases, and lessens, is born and destroyed, without communicating to it essential mutation, but, at most, transiently altering its outward manifestation. We come to consider it as the last refuge of thought, the binding link between the visible and invisible, the revealed and the discoverable,

the resolution of all anomalies, the determination of all problems in outward nature and in the inward soul; the fixing and steadying element of every science, the blank and object of every meditation. It appears to us even as the olive, the emblem of peace, is described by Sophocles—a plant not set by human hands, but of spontaneous and necessary growth in the great order of creative wisdom, fearful to its enemies, and so firmly grounded, as that none, in ancient or later times, hath been able to uproot it.

> *Φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον, αὐτόποιον*
> *ἐγχέων φόβημα δαΐων·*
> *τὸ μέν τις οὔτε νέος οὔτε γήρᾳ*
> *σημαίνων ἀλιώσει χερι πέρσας.**

After what I have said, it may appear superfluous to conclude that the Christian religion can have no interest in repressing the cultivation of science and literature, nor any reason to dread their general diffusion, so long as this is accompanied by due attention to sound moral principles and correctness of faith. For if the experience of the past has given us a security that the progress of science uniformly tends to increase the sum of our proofs, and to give fresh lustre to such as we already possess, in favor of Christianity, it surely becomes her interest and her duty to encourage that constant and salutary advance. Yet, from the beginning of the Church there have been found men who

* Œdip. Col. 694.

professed a contrary opinion, and they may be divided into two classes, according to the motives which have instigated their opposition to human learning.

The first consists of those well-meaning Christians, who, in all ages, have fancied that science and literature are incompatible with application to more sacred duties, or that they draw the mind from the contemplation of heavenly things, and are an alloy to that constant holiness of thought which a Christian should ever strive to possess; or else that such pursuits are clearly condemned in Scripture, wherever the wisdom of this world is reproved. This class of timid Christians first directed their opposition to that philosophy which so many fathers, especially of the Alexandrian school, endeavored to join and reconcile with Christian theology. They were, however, strenuously attacked and confuted by Clement of Alexandria, who devoted several chapters of his learned *Stromata* to the vindication of his favourite studies. He observes very justly, that "varied and abundant learning recommends him who proposes the great dogmas of faith to the credit of his hearers, inspiring his disciples with admiration, and drawing them towards the truth;"* which is in like manner the opinion of Cicero when he says, "magna est enim vis ad persuadendum scientiæ."† Clement then illustrates his arguments by many

* "Stromata," lib. i, cap. 2, tom. i. p. 327, ed. Potter.

† "Topica," Oper. tom. i. p. 173, ed. *Lond.* 1681.

quotations from the Holy Scriptures, and from profane authors. I will read you one remarkable passage.

"Some persons having a high opinion of their good dispositions, will not apply to philosophy or dialectics, nor even to natural philosophy, but wish to possess faith alone and unadorned, as reasonably as though they expected to gather grapes from a vine which they have left uncultivated. Our Lord is called, allegorically, a vine, from which we gather fruit, by a careful cultivation, according to the eternal Word. We must prune, and dig, and bind, and perform all other necessary labor. And, as in agriculture and in medicine, he is considered the best educated who has applied to the greatest variety of sciences, useful for tilling or for curing, so must we consider him most properly educated who makes all things bear upon the truth; who, from geometry, and music, and grammar, and philosophy itself, gathers whatever is useful for the defence of the faith. But the champion who has not trained himself well, will surely be despised."*

These words, I must own, afford me no small encouragement. For if, instead of geometry and music, we say geology, and ethnography, and history, we may consider ourselves as having, in this passage, a formal confirmation of the views which we have taken in these Lectures, and an appro

* *Ibid.* c. ix. p. 342.

bation of the principles on which they have been conducted.

As this opposition continued in the Church, so was it met by zealous and eloquent pastors, as most prejudicial to the cause of truth. St. Basil the Great seems particularly to have been thought a most strenuous defender of profane learning, in his age. He himself earnestly recommends the study of elegant literature, at that age when, according to him, the mind is too weak to bear the more solid food of God's inspired word. He expressly says that, by the perusal of such writers as Homer, the youthful mind is trained to virtuous feelings; at the same time, however, that care must be taken to withhold all that can corrupt the innocence of the heart.*

St. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of him with great praise, because he practically brought these principles to bear upon religion, and illustrated them by his great learning. "Many," he writes, "present profane learning as a gift to the Church; among whom was the great Basil, who, having in his youth seized on the spoil of Egypt, and consecrated it to God, adorned with its wealth the tabernacle of the Church."†

But the illustrious friend of St. Basil has entered more at length into the merits of this question. St. Gregory Nazianzen has been his

* "Basilii Opera," tom. i. hom. 24.

† "De Vita Mosis." "S. Gregorii Nysseni Opera." *Paris* 1638. tom. i. p. 209.

school-fellow at Athens; where both, animated by the same religious spirit, had devoted themselves with signal success to the prosecution of study, considering truth, according to the expression of St. Augustine, "wherever found, to be the property of Christ's Church." Indeed, so well did their schoolmate, Julian, understand the value which they and other holy men of their time attached to human learning, and the powerful use which they made of it to overthrow idolatry and error, that, upon his apostacy, he issued a decree, whereby Christians were debarred from attending public schools, and acquiring science.* And this was considered by them a grievous persecution. One passage, from St. Gregory's funeral oration over his friend, will be sufficient to satisfy you concerning his opinion:

"I think that all men of sound mind must agree that learning is to be reckoned the highest of earthly goods. I speak not merely of that noble learning which is ours, and which, despising all outward grace, applies exclusively to the work of salvation, and the beauty of intellectual ideas, but also of that learning which is from without, which some ill-judging Christians reject as wily and dangerous, and as turning the mind from God." After observing that the abuse of such learning by the heathens is no reason for its rejection, any more than their blasphemous substitution

* "Socrates Hist. Eccles." lib. i, cap. 12.

of the material elements for God can debar us from their legitimate use, he thus proceeds: "Therefore must not erudition be reproved, because some men choose to think so; on the contrary, they are to be considered foolish and ignorant who so reason, who would wish all men to be like themselves, that they may be concealed in the crowd, and no one be able to detect their want of education."*

The terms here used are indeed severe; but they serve to show, in the strongest manner, the sentiments of this holy and learned man, on the utility of human science and literature. Turning to the great lights of the Western Church, we find no less severity of reproof used in dealing with those that oppose profane learning. St. Jerome, for instance, speaks even harshly of those who, as he says, "mistake ignorance for sanctity, and boast that they are the disciples of poor fishermen."† On another occasion he illustrates the Scripture from many topics of heathen philosophy, and then concludes in these words:—"Hæc autem de Scriptura pauca posuimus, ut congruere nostra cum philosophis doceremus."—"We have alleged these few things from Scripture, so to show

* S. Gregor. Nazianzeni, "Funebris oratio in laudem Basilii Magni," Oper. *Par.* 1609, tom. i. p. 323.

† "Responsum habeant non adeo me hebetis fuisse cordis, et tam crassæ rusticitatis, quam illi solam pro sanctitate habent, piscatorum se discipulos asserentes, quasi idcirco sancti sint, si nihil scirent."—Ep. xv. ad Marcellum, Oper tom. ii part ii. p 62, ed. Martianay.

that our doctrines agree with those of the philosophers."* Which words clearly intimate that he considered it an interesting study, and not unworthy of a good Christian, to trace the connections between revealed truths and human learning, and to see if the two could be brought into harmony together.

His learned friend, St. Augustine, was clearly of the same mind. For, speaking of the qualities requisite for a well-furnished theologian, he enumerates mundane learning among them, as of great importance. Thus he writes:—"If they who are called philosophers have said any true things, which are conformable to our faith, so far from dreading them, we must take them for our use, as a possession which they unjustly hold." He then observes that those truths which lie scattered in their writings, are as pure metal amidst the ore of a vein, "which the Christian should take from them, for the rightful purpose of preaching the Gospel."† "Have so many of the best faithful among us," he continues, "acted otherwise? With what a weight of gold and silver, and precious garments, have we not beheld Cyprian, that sweetest Doctor and most blessed martyr, laden as he went forth from Egypt? How much did Lactantius, Victorinus,

* "Adv. Jovinianum," lib. ii. *ib.* p. 200.

† "Debet ab eis auferre Christianus, ad usum justum prædicandi evangelium."

Optatus, Hilary, bear away? How much innumerable Greeks?"*

It is not difficult to reconcile with such passages as these, those many places where the Fathers, seem to reprobate human learning; as where St. Augustine himself, in one of his letters, speaking of the education he was giving to Possidius, says that the studies usually called liberal deserve not that name, at that time honorable, which properly belongs to pursuits grounded on the true liberty which Christ purchased for us; or where St. Ambrose, to quote one passage out of many, tells Demetrius that "they who know by what labor they were saved, and at what cost redeemed, wish not to be of the wise in this world."† For it is plain that they speak, on those occasions, of the foolish, vain, and self-sufficient learning of arrogant sophists and wily rhetoricians, and of that science which, void of the salt of grace and of a religious spirit, is insipid, vapid, and nothing worth. And how can we, for a moment, think otherwise, when we peruse their glorious works, and contemplate the treasure of ancient learning therein hoarded, and trace in every paragraph their deep acquaintance with heathen philosophy, and in every sentence their familiarity with the purest models of style?

* "De Doctrina Christiana," lib. ii. cap. 40, Opera. tom. iii. part i. p. 42, ed. Maur.

† "Epistolar." lib. iv. Epist. xxxiii. Oper. tom. v. p. 264, ed. *Par.* 1632.

Who can doubt, or who will dare to regret, that Tertullian and Justin, Arnobius and Origen, were furnished with all the weapons which pagan learning could supply, towards combating on behalf of truth? Who can wish that St. Basil and St. Jerome, St. Gregory and St. Augustine, had been less versed than they were in all the elegant literature of the ancients? Nay, even in the very letter to which I have alluded, St. Augustine, if I remember right, speaks without regret, and even with satisfaction, of the books on music which his friend had expressed a wish to possess.

The sentiments of the early Church have undergone no change from time, on this, any more than on other points. Mabillon has proved, beyond dispute, that even among men of monastic life, learning was encouraged and promoted from the beginning.* Bacon writes with great commendation of the zeal for learning which has been always shown in the Catholic Church. God, he writes, "sent out his divine truth into the world, accompanied with other parts of learning, as her attendants and handmaids. We find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the Church were well versed in the learning of the heathens, insomuch, that the edict of the Emperor Julian, forbidding the Christians the schools and exercises, was accounted a more pernicious engine

* "Traité des Etudes monastiques," part. i. cap. xv, p. 112. *Par.* 1691.

against the faith, than the sanguinary persecutions of his predecessors. It was the Christian Church, which among the inundations of the Scythians from the north-west, and the Saracens from the east, preserved in her bosom the relics of even profane learning, which had otherwise been utterly extinguished. And of late years the Jesuits have greatly enlivened and strengthened the state of learning, and contributed to establish the Roman see."

"There are, therefore," he concludes, "two principal services, besides ornament and illustration, which philosophy and human learning perform to religion; the one consists in effectually exciting to the exaltation of God's glory, the other affording a singular preservation against unbelief and error."*

Between the two extremes which Bacon has named, the ancient Fathers and the Society of Jesus, there is a long interval, during which, in spite of ordinary prejudice, we must not allow ourselves to imagine that the fostering spirit of the Church was not exerted in favor of profane learning. "I would observe," writes a learned and amiable author, "that to a Catholic, not only the philosophical, but also the literary history of the world is prodigiously enlarged; objects change their relative position, and many are brought into resplendent light, which before were consigned to

* "De augmentis Scientiarum."—Bacon's Works, *Lond.* 1818, vol. vi. p. lxiii.

obscurity. While the moderns continue, age after age, to hear only of the Cæsars and the philosophers, and to exercise their ingenuity in tracing parallel characters among their contemporaries, the Catholic discovers that there lies, between the heathen civilization and the present, an entire world, illustrious with every kind of intellectual and moral greatness; the names which are on his tongue are no longer Cicero and Horace, but St. Augustine, St. Bernard, Alcuin, St. Thomas, St. Anselm; the places associated in his mind with the peace and dignity of learning are no longer the Lycæum or the Academy, but Citeaux, Cluny, Crowland, or the Oxford of the middle ages."*

I will only refer you to his rich and glowing page for sufficient proof that classical and philosophical pursuits were zealously and ably followed in the solitude of the cloister, by—

> "The thoughtful monks, intent their God to please,
> For Christ's dear sake, by human sympathies
> Pour'd from the bosom of the Church."†

But I cannot withhold from you the opinion of one who was a bright ornament of those calumniated ages. Among the exquisite sermons of St. Bernard on the Canticles, is one on this very theme; "that the knowledge of human learning is good;" in which the eloquent Father thus

* "Mores Catholici, or Ages of Faith," book iii. *Lond.* 1833. p. 277.

† "Yarrow revisited," 2nd ed. p. 254.

expresses himself. "I may, perhaps, appear to depreciate learning too much, and almost to reprove the learned, and forbid the study of letters. God forbid! I am not ignorant how much learned men have benefited, and now benefit the Church, whether by confuting those who are opposed to her, or by instructing the ignorant. And I have read, 'because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will reject thee; that thou shalt not do the office of the priesthood to me.'"*

Such then have been the feeling and conduct of the Catholic Church regarding the application of profane learning to the defence and illustration of truth: and perhaps the best answer which can be given to such inconsiderate Christians as say that religion needs not such foreign and meretricious aids, is that of Dr. South: "If God hath no need of our learning, he can have still less of your ignorance."

The second class of writers who assert that religion is not interested in the progress of learning is actuated by very different motives. For it comprises those enemies of revelation against whom these Lectures have been principally directed, and who pretend that the onward course of science tends to overthrow, or weaken, the evidences of revealed religion. I have had so many opportunities of practically confuting these men, that I shall not stay to expose any further the folly of

* "Serm. xxxvi. super Cantica," Opera, p. 608, *Basil* 1566.

their assertions. I will only observe, that this ungrounded reproach was not made for the first time by the modern adversaries of Christianity but is in fact the oldest charge brought against it. For Celsus, one of the most ancient impugners of its truth, whose objections are on record, especially taunted us with this hostility to science, from a fear of its weakening our cause. But he met with an able and victorious opponent in the learned Origen, who triumphantly rebuts the calumny, and draws from it a conclusion which I cannot refrain from quoting: "If the Christian religion shall be found to invite and encourage men to learning, then must they deserve severe reprehension who seek to excuse their own ignorance, by so speaking as to draw others away from application."* This remark, while it shows the security felt by Origen, that Christianity could not suffer by the encouragement of learning, is also a just rebuke to that timid class of friends who are alarmed at its progress.

More than once I have had opportunities of vindicating Italy, and Rome especially, from silly calumnies in this regard. I have proved that this city has been the foremost in encouraging and aiding science and literature, the tendency of which was to probe the foundations of religion to their very centre, without jealousy and without alarm.

* "Contra Celsum," lib. iii. Opera, tom. i. p. 476, ed. De la Rue.

There is no country, perhaps, where the higher departments of education are so unreservedly thrown open to every rank, where the physical sciences are more freely pursued, and where Oriental and critical literature have been more fostered than here. This city possesses three establishments in the form of a University, in which all the branches of literature and science are simultaneously cultivated under able professors; and there is a chair in the great University of a character perfectly unique, wherein the discoveries of modern physics are applied to the vindication of Scripture.* In my own case, I should be unjust to overlook this opportunity of saying, that on every occasion, but principally in reference to the subject of these Lectures, I have received the most condescending encouragement from those whose approbation every Catholic will consider his best reward on earth.†

* The chair of "Fisica sagra."

† I feel a pleasure in relating the following anecdote:— A few years ago, I prefixed to a thesis held by a member of my establishment, a Latin dissertation of ten or twelve pages, upon the necessity of uniting general and scientific knowledge to theological pursuits. I took a rapid view of the different branches of learning discussed in these Lectures. The essay was soon translated into Italian, and printed in a Sicilian journal; and I believe appeared also at Milan. What was most gratifying, however, to my own feelings, and may serve as a confirmation of the assertions in the text, is, that when two days after I waited upon the late Pope, Pius VIII., a man truly well versed in sacred and profane literature, to present him, according to form, with a copy of the thesis pre-

But from all that I have hitherto said, and I hope proved, we may surely draw some practical conclusions. And first I beg to turn myself, with all becoming deference, to those who share the duties and the dangers of my own calling; and without presuming so far as to instruct or even to advise them, as a friend and brother, entreat them to lose no opportunity of giving the lie, by their deeds, to the persevering reproach of religious enemies. It is not by abstract reasoning that we shall convince mankind of our not dreading the progress of learning; it is by meeting it fairly, or rather accompanying it in its onward march, treating it ever as an ally and a friend, and exhibiting it as enlisted on our side, that we can reasonably hope to satisfy them that truth is God's alone, and that his servants and their cause may fear it not. The reason why infidelity proved so mischievous in France during the last century, was, that its emissaries presented it to the acceptance of the people, tricked out with all the tinsel ornaments of a mock science; because they dealt in illustration and in specious proofs drawn from every branch of literature; because they sweetened the edge of the poisoned cup with all the charms of

pared for him, I found him with it on his table; and in the kindest terms, he informed me, that having heard of my little essay, he had instantly sent for it; and added, in terms allusive to the figure quoted above from the ancient Fathers, "You have robbed Egypt of its spoil and shown that it belongs to the people of God."

an elegant style and lively composition; while unfortunately they who undertook to confute them, with the exception of Guenée, and perhaps a few others, dealt in abstract reasoning, and mere didactic demonstration.* And is it too much to demand that equal pains be taken by us to deck out religion with those charms that are her own vesture, given unto her by God, which her enemy has impiously usurped?

The shifting forms which infidelity takes, the Proteus-like facility with which its shape and motions vary, should keep us in a state of unwearied activity, to face it in all its changes, with a suitable resistance, and so be able to quell it in all its fantastic apparitions. "The versatility of error," says an eloquent writer of our times, "demands a correspondent variety in the means of defending truth: and from whom have the public more right to expect its defence, in opposition to the encroachments of error and infidelity, than from those who profess to devote their studies and their lives to the advancement of virtue and

* As an instance of this defect, in one who has taken a higher ground than I have thought necessary, and tried to carry the war into the enemy's country, I might mention a work, published at Naples towards the end of the last century, "L'irreligiosa libertà di pensare nemica del progresso delle scienze." It is a large quarto, but from the first page to the last, does not contain a single illustrative fact to prove that infidelity has been hostile to the progress of science. It is a work of dry reasoning, with a good deal of declamation.

religion?. . .As the Christian ministry is established for the instruction of men, throughout every age, in truth and holiness, it must adapt itself to the ever-shifting scenes of the moral world, and stand ready to repel the attacks of impiety and error, under whatever form they may appear."*

But these sentiments, spoken of the instructors of any religion, have been uttered more than a thousand years ago, concerning our ministry, by the glorious Chrysostom, in the golden book which he wrote for those of our profession. For thus he speaks upon this very point:—"Wherefore we must take all pains that the doctrine of Christ dwell abundantly within us. For the preparations of the enemy's battle are not of one form; for the war is in itself various, and waged by divers foes. All use not the same arms, nor conduct their assault on the same plan. He, therefore, who undertakes to fight them all, must understand the arts of each. He must be at once an archer and a slinger, subaltern and commander, soldier on horseback or on foot, equally able to fight in the ship and on the bulwark. For in ordinary warfare, each one opposes his adversary after that manner whereunto he hath been trained; but in this conflict it is far otherwise; since, should he who must gain the victory be not intimately acquainted with

* "Modern Infidelity considered with respect to its Influence on Society," in a sermon by R. Hall, M.A. *Lond.* 1822, pp. iv. & 11.

every separate art, the devil well knows how to take advantage of some unguarded point, and introduce his despoilers to seize and tear the flock. This is not the case where he knows the shepherd to be provided with every acquirement, and aware of his deceits. It behoveth us, therefore, to be prepared on every side."*

To this encouraging testimony of the correctness of the views which I have taken, I can add that of an illustrious Father of the Latin Church. For St. Jerome, commenting on Eccles. ii. 8, "I heaped together for myself silver and gold and the wealth of kings," thus expresses himself:—"By the wealth of kings we may understand the doctrines of the philosophers and profane sciences, which the ecclesiastic understanding, by his diligence, he is able to catch the wise in their own toils."†

It is, you will say, a toilsome task to acquire the necessary preparation for this varied warfare; but such, no less, is the qualification for every other noble office of society—

——"Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit."‡

Shall the Roman orator declare that no one need

* "De Sacerdote," lib. iv. § iv. p. 177. *Cantab.* 1710.

† "Possunt regum substantiæ et philosophorum dici dogmata et scientiæ sæculares, quas ecclesiasticus vir diligenter intelligens, apprehendit sapientes in astutia eorum."—Comment. in Eccles. tom. ii. p. 726

‡ Virgil Georg. i. 121.

hope to attain the perfection of his profession, "unless he shall have acquired the knowledge of all the sciences;"* and this to cajole a multitude, and perhaps even to turn the course of justice;† and shall we be deterred from a similar application, sweet in itself and full of fruit, by an idea of labor and of difficulty; when our object is the noblest and the holiest which earth can propose: when the sciences themselves, daughters as they are of the uncreated wisdom, will receive consecration, and be made the priestesses of the Most High, by the very errand whereon we lead them? That time will be consumed in the preparation necessary for this method of meeting error and illustrating truth cannot be denied; but how, I may confidently ask, could time be better spent? Surely not on the flitting topics which occupy for a day the public mind; not on the flimsy literature which issues in an unfailing stream from our national press; not upon the insipid gratifications which general society can offer. "Break," I would say with the poet, "through the trammels of such chilling cares, and follow the guidance of heavenly wisdom, that

* "Ac mea quidem sententia, nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consequutus."—De Orat. lib. i. p. 89 ed. cit.

† "Discitur innocuas ut agat facundia causas;
Protegit hæc sontes, inmeritosque premit."
Trist. ii. 273.

we may be an honor to our country, and possess a fund of happiness within ourselves."

——————"Quod si
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
Quò te cœlestis sapientia duceret, ires.
Hoco pus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si patriæ volumus, si nobis vivere cari."*

Yes; *parvi properemus et ampli;* let all, great and little, forward this noble work. It is in every one's power so to order his literary occupation as to render it subservient to his religious improvement, to the strengthening of his own solemn convictions; even though he be not blessed with talents sufficient to add unto the sum of general evidence, for the public benefit. For if few are destined by Divine Providence to be as burning lights in his Church, not to be hidden under the bushel, yet hath each one a virginal lamp to trim, a small but precious light to keep burning within his soul, by feeding it ever with fresh oil, that it may guide him through his rugged path, and be not found dim and clogged when the bridegroom shall come.

And yet I know not why any one who possesses but ordinary abilities may not hope, by persevering diligence, somewhat to enlarge the evidences of truth. There are humble departments in this as in every other art; there are calm, retired walks, which lead not beyond the precincts of domestic privacy, over which the timid may

* Horace, "Epist." l. 1. ep. iii. 25.

wander, and, without exposure to the public gaze, gather sweet and lowly herbs, that shall be as fragrant on the altar of God as the costly perfume which Bezaleel and Oholiab compounded with so much art.* The painted shell which the child picks up on the hill-side may well be sometimes as good evidence of a great catastrophe as the huge bones of sea-monsters, which the naturalist digs out of the limestone rock; a little medal may attest the destruction of an empire, as certainly as the obelisk or triumphal arch. "While others," says St. Jerome, "contribute their gold and their silver to the service of the tabernacle, why should not I contribute my humble offerings, at least, of hair and skins?"† To this beautiful figure, which each one may utter in his own name, I will only add, that while the gold and silver are for the ornament of God's house, those humbler gifts—the skins and haircloth—are for its shelter and protection.

You all, I doubt not, have often admired those exquisite paintings on the ceilings of the Borgia apartments in the Vatican, wherein the sciences are represented as holding their separate courts; each enthroned upon a stately chair, with features and mien of the most noble and dignified beauty, surrounded by the emblems and most distinguished representatives of its power on earth, and seeming to claim homage from all that gaze upon it.

* Exod. xxx. 35; xxxi. 11.

† "Prologus Galeatus," prefixed to the Vulgate.

And judge what would have been the painter's conception, and to what a sublimity of expression he would have risen, had it been his task to represent that noblest of all sciences, our divine religion, enthroned as ever becomes her, to receive the fealty and worship of those her handmaids. For if, as hath been proved, they are but ministers unto her superior rule, and are intended to furnish the evidences of her authority, how much above theirs must be the comeliness and grace, and majesty and holiness, with which she must be arrayed! And what honor and dignity must be conferred on him who feels himself deputed to bear the tribute of any of these fair vassals; and how must his admiration of their queen be enhanced, by finding himself thus brought so near unto her presence!

But whosoever shall try to cultivate a wider field, and follow from day to day, as humbly we have striven here to do, the constant progress of every science careful ever to note the influence which it exercises on his more sacred knowledge, shall have therein such pure joy, and such growing comfort, as the disappointing eagerness of mere human learning may not supply. Such a one I know not unto whom to liken, save to one who unites an enthusiastic love of nature's charms, to a sufficient acquaintance with her laws, and spends his days in a garden of the choicest bloom. And here he seeth one gorgeous flower, that has unclasped all its beauty to the glorious sun; and there another is just about to disclose its modester

blossom, not yet fully unfolded; and beside them, there is one only in the hand-stem, giving but slender promise of much display; and yet he waiteth patiently, well knowing that the law is fixed whereby it too shall pay, in due season, its tribute to the light and heat that feed it. Even so, the other doth likewise behold one science after the other, when its appointed hour is come, and its ripening influences have prevailed, unclose some form which shall add to the varied harmony of universal truth, which shall recompense, to the full, the genial power that hath given it life, and, however barren it may have seemed at first, produce something that may adorn the temple and altar of God's worship.

And if he carefully register his own convictions, and add them to the collections already formed, of various converging proofs, he assuredly will have accomplished the noblest end for which man may live and acquire learning,—his own improvement, and the benefit of his kind. For, as an old and wise poet has written, after a wiser saint—

"The chief use then in man of that he knowes,
In his paines-taking for the good of all,
Not fleshly weeping for our own made woes
Not laughing from a melancholy gall,
Not hating from a soul that overflowes
With bitterness breathed out from inward thrall;
But sweetly rather to ease, loose, or binde,
As need requires, this fraile fallen human kinde.

"Yet some seeke knowledge, meerely to be knowne
And idle curiosity that is ·

Some but to sell, not freely to bestow,
These gaine and spend both time and wealth amisse,
Embasing arts, by basely deeming so;
Some to build others, which is charitie;
But these to build themselves who wise men be."*

When learning shall once have been consecrated by such high motives, it will soon be hallowed by purer feelings, and assume a calmer and more virtuous character than human knowledge can ever possess. An enthusiastic love of truth will be engendered in the soul, which will extinguish every meaner and more earthly feeling in its pursuit. We shall never look with a partisan's eye upon the cause, nor estimate it by personal motives, but, following the advice of the excellent Schlegel, we shall "eschew all sorts of useless contention, and uncharitable hate, and strive to keep alive a spirit of love and unity."† We shall consider the cause as too sacred to be conducted under the influence, or with the aid, of human passions. In the words of the poet, it will seem to address

* Lord Brooke: "Treatise on Humane Learning." These lines are but a paraphrase of the following beautiful passage of St. Bernard: "Sunt namque qui scire volunt eo tantum fine ut sciant, et turpis curiositas est. Et sunt qui scire volunt, ut sciantur ipsi, et turpis vanitas est. Et sunt item qui scire volunt, ut scientiam suam vendant, verbi causa pro pecunia, pro honoribus, et turpis quæstus est. Sed sunt quoque qui scire volunt ut ædificent, et charitas est. Et item qui scire volunt ut ædificentur, et prudentia est."—Sermo xxxvi. super Cant. p. 608.

† "Philosophische Vorlesungen," p. 265.

us; inciting us indeed to seek victory, but only in the power of God:

*Βούλου κρατεῖν μὲν, ξὺν Θεῷ δ' ἀει κρατεῖν.**

But these motives will have a still stronger power; they will insure us success. For if once a pure love and unmixed admiration of religion animate our efforts, we shall find ourselves inflamed with a chivalrous devotion to her service, which will make us indefatigable and unconquerable, when armed in her defence. Our quest may be long and perilous, there may come in our way enchantments and sorceries, giants and monsters, allurements and resistance; but onward we shall advance, in the confidence of our cause's strength; we shall dispel every phantasm, and fairly meet every substantial foe, and the crown will infallibly be ours. In other words, we shall submit with patience all the irksomeness which such detailed examination may cause: when any objection is brought, instead of contenting ourselves with vague replies, we shall at once examine the very department of learning, sacred or profane, whence it hath been drawn; we shall sit down calmly, and address ourselves meekly to the toilsome work; we shall endeavor to unravel all its intricacies, and diligently to untie every knot; and I promise you, that however hopeless your task may have appeared at first, the result of your exertions will

* Sophocles, "Ajax," 764.

be surely recorded in the short expressive legend, preserved on an ancient gem, which I trust I may consider as the summary and epilogue of these my Lectures:

"RELIGIO, VICISTI."

RELIGION, THOU HAST CONQUERED.

THE END.

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